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Changes in GDR Travel Regulations Reported

AU1211214289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Following the recent reorganization of the Socialist Unity Party's Politburo and of the government of the German Democratic Republic [GDR], ADN reports new travel regulations for GDR citizens to the Federal Republic of Germany [FRG] and West Berlin. The GDR Council of Ministers, acting on the recommendation of the Politburo, has decided that GDR citizens may go to the FRG and West Berlin to settle there or for temporary private visits, without having to go indirectly through Poland, Hungary, or Czechoslovakia.

It is reported that immediately after the announcement on new travel regulations, Helmut Kohl, chancellor of the FRG, broke off his visit to Poland and went to West Berlin.

Bulgaria's Leadership Change Reported

AU1111202089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] As announced by BTA, Todor Zhivkov has resigned from the highest party and state posts. It is pointed out that his resignation was announced in the course of a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria held yesterday in Sofia.

The text of a resolution adopted by the plenum says that Todor Zhivkov's request to be relieved of his positions as general secretary and member of the Politburo was accepted. The resolution says also that the plenum proposed that the National Assembly should approve Todor Zhivkov's request to be relieved also from the position of chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, adding that Petur Mladenov, until now minister of foreign affairs, was elected general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

In the closing session of the plenum, Petur Mladenov, the new party general secretary, stated that a profound restructuring is taking place in all aspects of social life in the East European countries. This involves complex and non-uniform processes that are difficult to predict. He stressed the question of the transformation of Bulgaria into a contemporary, democratic state to be an important and urgent task, and proposed restructuring, perestroyka, as the sole alternative.

BTA announces also that the plenum approved a resolution to convene the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgarian during the last quarter of the coming year.

Western Ideas of Political Pluralism Rejected

AU1011153389 Tirana ATA in English 1037 GMT 10 Nov 89

["Political Pluralism Is the Common Denominator of the Deepening of the Revisionist Counterrevolution"—ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, November 10 (ATA)—The modern revisionists have openly adopted the bourgeois theses of political and ideological pluralism as it is happening practically in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary etc. Such a phenomenon emerges indispensably from the capitalist reforms and mechanisms long-since applied in these countries.

Political pluralism is an aspect and logical result of the deepening of the revisionist counterrevolution and a proof of these capitalist processes initiated time ago in these countries. [sentence as received] The capitalist reforms demand immediately the respective restructuring also in the field of the political superstructure and the political system and mechanism in general.

Pluralism in economy, policy or ideology is not in the nature of socialism. The phenomena of political pluralism, of the many-party system and those of bureaucratism are indispensable offsprings of the capitalist order. The socialist social order and socialist democracy is based on the alliance of two friendly classes the working class and the cooperativist peasantry and the political system of this order is guided by a strong monolith Communist Party and a centralized state, which express and defend the aspirations and the interests of the laboring people.

Socialist relations in production do not create opposite interests between the two friendly classes, which are active builders of socialism. Therefore, there is no need and reason for the presence of many political parties. The socialist social order in reality ensures to all the working people the possibilities to express and realise the entity of interests, desires and aspirations, through the social organizations of the masses, as well as through the representative organs including here also the leading party, which comprises the best representatives of the classes and strata of the socialist society. The genuine democracy is not determined by the quantity of parties, but from the role they play and the rights the working masses enjoy in society. The socialist democracy is the most genuine, humane, and popular one.

The importance of the preservation of the leading role of the party, as a decisive condition to successfully carry forward socialism is quite clear to the Marxist-Leninist theory. To this ever better and more clearly testifies also the experience of our country. We, Comrade Ramiz Alia said at the eighth plenum of the Party Central Committee on September 25 this year, will never give up and tolerate the weakening of the leading role of our Marxist-Leninist party, for the sake of the so-called pluralism served by the bourgeoisie.

Mladenov Succeeds Party Chief Zhivkov

*AU1011161189 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 10 Nov 89*

[Text] The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] at its regular plenum today elected Comrade Petur Mladenov as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

The plenum granted the request of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to be relieved from the posts of general secretary and member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and expressed profound gratitude to him for his totally dedicated activity over many years in the service of the party and people.

The plenum proposed to the National Assembly that it should grant the request of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to be relieved as chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Zhivkov's Resignation

*AU1011171389 Sofia BTA in English
1618 GMT 10 Nov 89*

["Flash—Flash—Flash: Petur Mladenov, Secretary General of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 10 (BTA)—Today, the Central Committee [CC] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] at its regular plenum elected Mr Petur Mladenov secretary general of the CC of the BCP.

The plenum granted Mr Todor Zhivkov's request to be relieved of his post as secretary general and member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and thanked him for his long selfless service to the party and the people.

The plenum proposed that the National Assembly grant Mr Todor Zhivkov's request to be relieved of his duties as State Council president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Mladenov Plenum Speech

*AU1011210089 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 89*

["Concluding Speech" of Petur Mladenov, BCP Central Committee general secretary, at the BCP Central Committee 10 November 1989 Plenum]

[Text] [Begin Mladenov recording] Comrades, I sincerely thank you for the exceptionally high confidence in me that you demonstrated by electing me general secretary of the Central Committee of our party. I take into account the greatness of the tasks and responsibilities that you entrust to me. I would like to assure you that I shall not spare any energy in justifying this confidence.

Please allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the Politburo, and on my personal behalf to express gratitude to Comrade Todor Zhivkov for his long- lasting and loyal service to the cause of the party and revolution. His merits during the years of the resistance and antifascist struggle are well-known. After the victory, as first party leader for more than 30 years, he developed activity of significant scope for implementing the socialist transformations in our country. For all this, as we send Comrade Zhivkov away to his well-deserved rest, we most cordially thank him and wish him long years of health, vigor, and creative activity. [applause]

Comrades, today the world of socialism, a part of which our country is, finds itself in a qualitatively new state. Profound restructuring in all spheres of social life is taking place in most of the fraternal countries. I mean complex, not straightforward, and far from always foreseeable processes. However, there is no alternative to restructuring. Marx's thought that every formation does not represent a finished state, but is a process in motion, is an important landmark in this context.

Seeking a way out of the situation and thinking about the future of socialism in Bulgaria, we correctly posed to ourselves qualitatively new tasks. We outlined the ways of solving the problems. However, we did not take into consideration that the administrative- command system, which prevailed for decades, would not only not help but would appear to be absolutely unfit and turn into a braking force. We could not understand in time that the qualitatively new tasks presuppose qualitatively new approaches and mechanisms of action. Instead we relied on already familiar scenarios and already used schemes.

It is here we can find the answer to the question of why, until now, restructuring was not able to implement the required breakthrough, why the economy experienced serious difficulties, and why many bold and original transformative ideas appeared to be discredited to a large degree.

Actually, comrades, many complicated problems accumulated in developing our economy, solving the problems of the domestic market, solving the social issues, solving the country's foreign currency and financial issues, and in our work with the people and the nation, i.e., virtually in all spheres of life. We shall openly and honestly speak about all this with the party and the people. We shall not gloss over things. We will call them by their real names. We have no other way.

I believe that the people will understand us and will actively participate in seeking the solution to those difficult problems. In this context the Politburo considers it correct to convene in the near future a special BCP Central Committee plenum, at which the comprehensive situation in the country will be discussed and a broad program of activating asserting dynamics in the processes of restructuring will be discussed.

The main thing with which we must begin is placing the human personality, man, and his well-being and development in the center of our attention. This means constructing political relations on a new foundation by giving real power to the people.

The issue of turning Bulgaria into a modern democratic and law- governed state is facing us with all its importance and urgency.

This is not a wish but a vital necessity, the alpha and omega of our existence and development, and a matter related to the fate of socialism in Bulgaria.

All issues that guarantee society's democratic structure and the freedom of personality on the basis of comprehensively developing democracy, must be resolved by means of legislation.

Asserting glasnost as a principle of party and state policy has great importance in constructing Bulgaria as a modern socialist and law-governed state. This means not only complete openness [otkritost] of information but also an open dialogue with the people both in the process of discussing the matters of social importance and in adopting basic issues of importance in our country's development.

We should not be concerned and, even less, we should not be scared, by the fact that while seeking correct solutions pluralism can and certainly will emerge.

We must as soon as possible clearly separate the positions of the party and the state, and let each of them assume its place, role, and responsibility.

Also in the future the BCP will be the vanguard and leading force of our society. It must find the correct position and tone under the new unique conditions. It must find a way to strongly enhance the role of the BCP Central Committee. It is here that we must honestly and openly speak and discuss all significant issues related to our development—the development of the party and state, the development of the country. The principle of collectivism must be strongly applied to the work of the Politburo.

Restructuring the nation's economic life is the basic and decisive condition in the accelerated and harmonious development of our society. We are facing the urgent necessity of adapting our economy to the new realities within an exceptionally short period. Today those realities are characteristic of the world economy and the situation in the socialist economic community alike. The task of stabilizing the basic national balances, and first of all in the financial sphere, cannot be postponed any longer. We must create preconditions of accelerating the pace of structural and technological renewal, without which we cannot aspire to an adequate place in the world economy. We must do all this in the name of the main factor—constructing an economy that is oriented toward man and that can provide prosperity and possibilities for progress to every Bulgarian citizen and family. The road toward this goal passes through decisively asserting democracy in economic life and creating a situation in which effort and economic initiative will acquire a worthy social recognition.

Comrades, no enterprise can rely on success if it does not enjoy the support of the people and is implemented without their participation.

Our country's domestic and foreign policy is drawing and will draw inspiration from the unity of the Bulgarian nation, strongly relying on the labor and moral virtues, and the knowledge and skills of the working class, the agrarian workers, and the intelligentsia.

Proceeding along the road of restructuring we shall rely on the active participation of our allies from the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the Fatherland Front members, the Komsomol members, all Bulgarian youth, the trade union members, Bulgarian women, and all Bulgarian citizens in this process.

Much efforts and hard struggle will be needed to assert the new elements in the various spheres of social practice. Training a new kind of cadre as people of high civic qualities, professional skills and convinced adherents to restructuring, will have an exceptional importance. Simultaneously, we must fundamentally change the style and methods of leadership, as well as the criteria of mutual relations and our notion of rights and obligations.

It is an important task of our reform that our party obtain new support from the people and acquires the skill of guiding social development, as Lenin put it, not by the force of government, but through the force of authority, talent, and energy. This is the manner by which the BCP can make its mark as uniting social form in the full sense of the word, and a real factor of national unity.

Naturally, the results of restructuring are also reflected in the sphere of international relations. Our state will also continue in the future to steadily implement its obligations within the framework of international obligations, which reflect the positive changes in the international arena to an ever increasing degree. Those changes increasingly determine the image of international relations. We sincerely encourage and support the new offshoots of those relations, that aim to eliminate the nuclear and overall military threat. We highly assess the results of the USSR-U.S. dialogue, and dialogue between East and West, aimed at overcoming confrontation and constructing a peaceful and violence-free world.

The all-European process that is strengthening creates most favorable conditions for Bulgaria's participation in the international division of labor and in the exchange of material and intellectual values. This is why we support without any reservations the concept of the common European home and make our contribution to putting this concept into effect.

Close cooperation with the other socialist countries is a priority direction of Bulgaria's foreign policy. In this context we attribute fundamental importance to the deep transformations in the USSR, which generates the new political thinking and the new approaches to international relations. We greet and fully support the Leninist course of restructuring in the USSR, conducted under the leadership of the CPSU and its Central Committee, headed by the Central Committee's general secretary, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev. Our country will remain also in the future a firm unit of the socialist community and will actively work for asserting the role and authority of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA under modern conditions.

Led by the ideals of humanism and universal human reconciliation and solidarity Bulgaria will continue to make consistent efforts aimed at improving the climate in the Balkans and lastingly and justly settling the conflicts in various parts of the planet.

Comrades, a single conclusion can be drawn: If we are to successfully construct real socialism and achieve full-fledged interaction with the civilized states, we must finally and irreversibly dismantle the administrative-command system and prevent any resurgence. In its place we must construct a self-managing civic society, organized in a state with a social order freely chosen by the people. A choice that our people have made once and for ever.

Let me stress once again: We see restructuring in Bulgaria solely and exclusively within the framework of socialism, in the name of socialism, and along the road of socialism.

We are fully aware of the fact that the tasks we are facing will not be easy. They involve a real revolution aimed at liberating man's creative potential and creating conditions of his total self- assertion and expression.

The BCP, being flesh of the Bulgarian people's flesh and a political force with deep roots in our national history, has a great responsibility for the success of restructuring. It is responsible to the people of modern Bulgaria, to all those who devoted their life and work to the struggle for the triumph and consolidation of socialism in Bulgaria. This is a responsibility to the future generations. We accepted this responsibility and shall steadily march along the road we have selected, together with the people and in the name of the people. [end Mladenov recoding]

Biography of Mladenov

AU1011212989 Sofia BTA in English
2005 GMT 10 Nov 89

["Biography of Petur Toshev Mladenov, Secretary General of the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 10 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov was born to the family of revolutionaries in the village of Toshevtsi, Region of Mikhaylovgrad, on August 22, 1936. His father was a long-serving secretary of the village organisation of the BCP and took part in the antifascist resistance. He was killed when he served as a deputy political commissar of the Georgi Benkovski partisan unit.

Mr Petur Mladenov joined the Dimitrov Young Communist League (DYCL) in 1949. In 1954 he graduated from the Suvorov School in Sofia and enrolled in the University of Sofia to study philosophy. He pursued his studies at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and graduated from it in 1963. He was a long-serving youth activist: During his college days he was elected secretary of the Dimitrov Young Communist League's Moscow Committee, secretary of the Vidin County Committee of the DYCL, 1963-1964. First secretary of the Vidin County Committee of the DYCL, March 1964-1966. Head of the International Relations Department of the CC [Central Committee] of the DYCL, March-November 1966. Secretary of the CC of the DYCL, 1966-1969.

He joined the BCP in 1964. First secretary of the BCP County Committee in Vidin, 1969-1971. Minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria since December 16, 1971.

Member of the CC of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] since the 10th BCP Congress (April 1971). At its July 3, 1977 plenum, the BCP Central Committee elected him alternate (non-voting) member of the Politburo, and the December 19, 1977 Plenum of the CC of the BCP promoted him to full Politburo membership.

He has served as National Assembly representative (member of parliament) in the Sixth, the Seventh, the Eighth and the Ninth National Assembly.

He holds the Order of Georgi Dimitrov and the Thirteen Centuries Bulgaria Order.

BCP CC Plenum Opens Session on Restructuring

AU1011092389 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] A Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee plenum opened this morning at the Boyana residence under the agenda, "On the Progress of Restructuring at the Present Stage of Development; For Preparing the 14th BCP Congress."

Comrade Todor Zhivkov is the main speaker.

Plenum Proceedings

AU1011191989 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] took place today in the Boyana Residence in Sofia. Taking part in the plenum, apart from members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee, were the chairman and deputy chairmen of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission, secretaries of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], secretaries of the BZNS Permanent Board, first secretaries of the Central Committee of the Komsomol, chiefs of departments of the BCP Central Committee, ministers and chairmen of committees under the Council of Ministers, and chairmen of the executive committees of oblast people's councils who are not members of the BCP Central Committee.

The following agenda was unanimously approved:

Item 1. On the course of restructuring at the present stage, on the preparations for the forthcoming 14th Party Congress. Speaker: Todor Zhivkov.

Item 2. Organizational matters.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov made an introductory speech on the report, which had already been published.

After debates on item 1 of the agenda, the plenum unanimously adopted the following decision:

The BCP Central Committee approves the report of the Politburo on the course of restructuring at the present stage, on the preparations for the 14th Party Conference. The regular 14th BCP Congress is to be convened during the fourth quarter of 1990.

The Congress is to (?consider) the following agenda:

Item 1. Report of the BCP Central Committee for the period between the 13th and 14th congresses, concerning the course of restructuring and the tasks lying ahead, and concerning a new BCP statute.

Item 2. Report of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission.

Item 3. Elections of the central leading organs of the party.

The main documents for the congress are to be published for discussion.

The plenum determines that each delegate to the congress should be elected to represent 350 Communists.

The delegates to the congress are to be elected at the oblast party conferences in accordance with the requirements of the statute relating to secret voting.

The oblast party conferences are to elect delegates from the party organizations in the Armed Forces.

The Politburo is to determine the period for holding the accountability-election meetings in the party groups, primary and constituent party organizations, general meetings and conferences of the municipal party organizations, and conferences of the oblast party organizations.

At the accountability-election meetings and conferences, an in-depth, critical assessment is to be made of the course of the restructuring under way, as well as of the real contribution of each party organization and the leading party organs to a qualitative renewal in the material and intellectual life of society.

In the spirit of the July Concept, a discussion is to take place of the implementation of the political, organizational, and ideological-educational functions of the party committees and organizations.

The accountability reports and elections in the party are to act as a powerful stimulus for mobilizing the efforts of the Communists for the successful fulfillment of the plan for 1990 and the Ninth 5-Year Plan period.

Regarding Item 2 of the agenda, Comrade Georgi Atanasov stressed that the issue that the Central Committee was about to discuss was of exceptionally great importance for both the party and the country.

As far back as a year ago, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, in a letter to the Politburo, requested that his proposal to be relieved as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, member of the Politburo, and chairman of the State Council should be discussed at a plenum of the Central Committee. He based his arguments for his request on the fundamental postulates developed in the July Concept and at the National Party Conference, and more specifically referred to the principle of a fixed term of office, although it had not yet become part of the statute or the Constitution.

At that time, Comrade Georgi Atanasov stressed, the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee considered that the request submitted by Comrade Todor Zhivkov was not timely [aktualna] and asked him to continue to fulfill his party and state duties.

However, recently Comrade Todor Zhivkov once again persistently posed the question of his being released from the party and state posts that he occupied. In addition to the arguments set out in his letter of last year, he also stressed the fact that he had served at the head of the party and state for more than 30 years, that he was approaching the age of 80, and felt that his strength was leaving him, whereas the work of the general secretary is always very intense, especially at such a decisive historical period for the country.

The Politburo, with the participation of candidate members of the Politburo, chairman of the Central Control-Auditing Commission, and secretaries of the BCP Central Committee, held a detailed discussion of all the aspects of this problem, and decided to propose that the Central Commitee should grant the request of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to be released from the posts of general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, member of the Politburo, and also to propose that the National Assembly should relieve him of the post of chairman of the State Council.

During the discussion in the Politburo it was particularly pointed out that the revolutionary transformations that we are carrying out and the processes of renewal that are under way are accompanied by serious difficulties and problems. It is clear that society has need of comprehensive changes; much energy is required to implement these changes, and the new, difficult decisions create much strain.

Later on Comrade Georgi Atanasov stated that the activity and achievement of Comrade Todor Zhivkov over more than 3 decades have been inseparably connected with all the main events in the life of our society.

In the name of the Politburo, he proposed that the Central Committee should express its heartfelt gratitude to Comrade Zhivkov for dedicating the whole of his conscious life and unreservedly devoting his efforts and energy to the cause of the party and service to the people.

Permit me, Comrade Georgi Atanasov said, in the name of the Politburo to propose to you the candidature that we unanimously put forward: that Comrade Petur Mladenov should be elected as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee. He is well-known to all of us, because he has been in the party leadership for 18 years.

Having passed through the school of the Komsomol, having grown up and established himself as a respected representative of the younger generation of leading party and state figures, highly educated, having accumulated many-sided experience, he enjoys authority not only among us but also abroad.

Comrade Petur Mladenov combines the unity and continuity of the generations. He knows how to work with people, to listen to others' views, and the authoritarian style of work is alien to him. At the same time, he is decisive and is able to defend his position and follow through with his line. He has demonstrated all the qualities for assuming the responsibilities that the post of general secretary of the BCP Central Committee demand.

A prolonged discussion was held on the Politburo's proposal.

After the proposal made had been discussed in detail, the Central Committee adopted a decision:

The plenum grants the request of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to be relieved from the posts general secretary and member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, and expresses profound gratitude to him for his totally dedicated activity over many years and his service to the party and people.

The plenum proposes that the National Assembly should grant Comrade Zhivkov's request to be relieved as chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The plenum elects Comrade Petur Mladenov as secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

In the concluding speech at the plenum, Comrade Petur Mladenov expressed sincere thanks for high trust placed in him and gave an assurance that he would not spare his strength in justifying this trust.

Further on Plenum

AU1111164589 Sofia BTA in English 2125 GMT 10 Nov 89

["Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party"—BCP headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, November 10 (BTA)—The Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] held a plenum at the Boyana Residence today. [passage omitted]

Mr Todor Zhivkov made an introductory speech at the plenum.

The following participants took the floor in the debate on Item One of the agenda: Mr Atanas Kostadinov, member of the CC of the BCP, first secretary of the BCP Regional Committee in Mikhaylovgrad; Mr Ivan Stanev, member of the CC of the BCP, foreman of a work team at the Kremikovtsi Construction Administration, Hero of Socialist Labour; Mr Kuncho Kunev, alternate member of the CC of the BCP, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Regional People's Council in Lovech; Mr Trifon Pashov, member of the CC of the BCP, minister of transport; Mr Mincho Chuntov, member of the CC of the BCP, secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee; Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union]; and Mr Orlin Orlinov, member of the CC of the BCP and editor-in-chief of the STURSHEL weekly.

The plenum unanimously adopted a resolution on the matter discussed, which has been released for publication.

Speaking on Item Two of the agenda, Mr Georgi Atanasov stressed that the matter which the Central Committee was to consider is of exceedingly great importance for the party and for the country. [passage omitted]

"On behalf of the Politburo I would like to present to you the person whom we unanimously nominate for secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party: Comrade Petur Mladenov. We all know him well, as he has been in the party leadership for 18 years," Mr Georgi Atanasov said. [passage omitted]

The following Central Committee members took part in the debate on this item of the agenda: Mr Panteley Pachov, first secretary of the BCP Regional Committee in Plovdiv; Mr Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sofia People's Council; Mr Ivan Maslarov; Mr Khristo Ruskov; Mr David Elazar, director of the Institute of History of the BCP; Mr Yancho Georgiev, head of the Information and Sociological Centre of the CC of the BCP; Mr Boris Tsvetkov, chairman of the National Committee for European Security and Cooperation; Mr Dimitur Zhulev, ambassador of Bulgaria to the United Kingdom; Mr Luchezar

Avramov, president of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Hikers' Union; Mr Demir Borachev; Mr Girgin Girginov, president of the National Council of the Georgi Kirkov Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge; Mr Konstantin Atanasov, first deputy head of the International Department of the CC of the BCP; Mr Nikolay Iribadzhakov, managing editor of the NOVO VREME journal; and Mr Lazar Prichkapov, first secretary of the Sofia Regional Committee of the BCP. The speakers expressed support for the motion of the CC of the BCP.

After an in-depth consideration of the motions submitted, the Central Committee adopted a resolution.

Mr Todor Zhivkov's resignation was unanimously accepted.

Mr Petur Mladenov was elected secretary general of the CC of the BCP by an overwhelming majority, with a single vote against.

"This brings to an end the proceedings of today's plenum," Mr Georgi Atanasov said. "It will emerge as a watershed event in the country's development, in the process of deep-going social [Item ends here in mid-sentence as received]

Text of Resolution

AU1011212889 Sofia BTA in English
2011 GMT 10 Nov 89

["BCP To Hold 14th Congress in Last Quarter of 1990"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 10 (BTA)—Following is the text of a resolution which the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] adopted at its plenum today:

"I. The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party approves the Politburo report 'On the Progress of Restructuring at This Stage.'

"On preparations for the Fourteenth BCP Congress

"II. The regular Fourteenth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party will be held in the fourth quarter of 1990.

"The following items will be included on the congress agenda:

"1. Report of the BCP Central Committee on the period between the 13th and the 14th Congresses, on the progress of restructuring and on the forthcoming tasks.

"New statute of the BCP.

"2. Report of the BCP Central Auditing and Control Commission.

"3. Elections of BCP central governing bodies.

"The principal congress documents will be published for discussion.

"The plenum has determined that one delegate to the congress be elected per 350 party members. The congress delegates will be elected at BCP regional conferences in accordance with the requirements of the statute by secret ballot. The BCP regional conferences will also elect the delegates from the party organisations in the Armed Forces.

"The Politburo will determine the period in which the party cells, the primary and the constituent party organisations will hold their election meetings, the municipal party organisations their general meetings and conferences and the regional party organisations their conferences.

"The election meetings and conferences should make an in-depth and critical assessment of the progress of the restructuring under way and of the tangible contribution of each BCP organisation and of the party's governing bodies to a qualitative renewal of society's material and intellectual life. The fulfillment of the party committees' and organisations' ideological and educational functions will be considered in the spirit of the July Concept.

"The BCP election campaign should give a powerful impetus to rallying the Communists' efforts for the successful fulfillment of the 1990 plan and of the Ninth Five-Year Plan.

"The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party expresses the confidence that the preparations for the Fourteenth Congress of the party will be held under the sign of the ongoing comprehensive restructuring of socialist society in this country and will help strengthen the cohesion of the party ranks and the unity of party and people."

CSSR Reaction to Mladenov Election Reported

AU1111162489 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] During the last few hours, and in this morning's newscasts, the CSSR mass media devoted much space to the decisions of the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], that took place in Sofia. Our correspondent Nikolay (?Konakchiev) reports from Prague:

The news about the exceptionally important decisions of the BCP Central Committee plenum were reported yesterday [10 November] by the CSSR radio and television in their central broadcasts. Immediately afterward, the media gave information about the greetings message sent to Comrade Petur Mladenov, in connection with his election as general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, by Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. In his message, the CSSR party leader expresses confidence that comprehensive cooperation between the fraternal parties will develop in the future and will contribute to strengthening friendship between the two countries.

Both the radio and television reported Comrade Petur Mladenov's biography and stressed that in the past he had been awarded the high CSSR "White Lion" Order for his contribution to developing friendship between the peoples of Bulgaria and the CSSR.

Vera Ivanicova, CTK Agency correspondent in Sofia, spoke in her television commentary in detail about the BCP Central Committee plenum debate related to the progress of restructuring, the processes of renewal in Bulgaria, scheduling the 14th BCP Congress for the fourth quarter of 1990, and the important issues related to the party charter, that this congress will have to deal with. Simultaneously, the correspondent pointed out that the plenum thanked Comrade Todor Zhivkov for his long-lasting activity.

Mladenov Announces Special CC Session

AU1311074789 Vienna KURIER in German
13 Nov 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Now Perestroyka Bulgarian Style?"]

[Text] On Sunday [12 November] the new Bulgarian state and party chief Petur Mladenov announced a special session of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party to be held "in the near future." Obviously, the followers of his predecessor Zhivkov are to be replaced then.

In his first speech, Mladenov did not leave any doubt that in the future, too, the Communist Party will be the "leading force of society." Nevertheless, he advocated "pluralism of opinions."

Bulgarian opposition members expect a course of perestroyka that closely resembles that of the Soviet Union. Mladenov is not expected to carry out radical political reforms like the ones in Poland or Hungary.

Reportage of Mladenov Beijing Visit 4-8 Nov

Mladenov Departs

AU0411183689 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov departed for Beijing this morning. He will pay an official visit to the PRC at the invitation of Foreign Minister Qian Qichen.

Visit Starts

AU0511202089 Sofia BTA in English
1817 GMT 5 Nov 89

["Promotion of Bulgaro-Chinese Relations"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 5 (BTA)—The official friendly visit of Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and minister of foreign affairs, who is in China at the invitation of Mr Qian Qichen, member of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party and minister of foreign affairs, started today.

This is the first official visit to have ever been paid to China by a leader of the Bulgarian diplomacy in the history of the relations between the two socialist countries. The forthcoming Bulgaro-Chinese summit dialogue will take place on the background of stabilized internal political situation in China and on the eve of the plenums to be held by the Central Committees of the two Communist Parties at which important decisions are expected to be taken as to the extension of the similar processes of reforms and innovation implemented both in Bulgaria and China.

Today Mr Qian Qichen gave an official dinner in honour of Mr Petur Mladenov, at which the two ministers delivered toast speeches.

Mr Qian Qichen pointed out that in the 40 years of diplomatic relations between China and Bulgaria their friendship has been constantly extended thanks to the two countries' consistent efforts. In the last years their bilateral relations have entered upon a new stage of development. We are willing to promote all-round relations with Bulgaria on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, because it corresponds to the fundamental interests of the two peoples, contributes to the cause of socialist construction and development of the two countries and is to the interest of safeguarding world peace, the Chinese foreign minister underlined.

Further on he spoke about the construction of socialism in China under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the great achievements in this field. We summed up the experience and the lessons of the past and, taking into consideration the reality in China, worked out a line, course and policy of socialist modernization, Mr Qichen said. Our practice which is of long standing shows that this line is correct and China will follow it unflinchingly. The Chinese foreign minister pointed out that at the beginning of June this year the Chinese Government suppressed a counter-revolutionary rebellion in Beijing, the purpose of which was to overthrow the Chinese Communist Party and undermine the People's Republic of China. On behalf of China he expressed gratitude to the government and the people of Bulgaria for the understanding and the support of the measures taken to deal with the rebellion.

In conclusion Mr Qian Qichen said that now there is a tendency to detente and dialogue in the international situation, but the hotbeds of tension have not been eliminated yet, the international reaction is still trying to take advantage of any chance that opens up and interfere in other countries' internal affairs. The Chinese people strictly adheres to the principle of non-interference in other countries' internal affairs and does not allow any encroachment on its historical choice on the part of any country whatsoever. We declare ourselves to be for the promotion of state-to-state relations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and for the creation on this basis of a new international political and economic order. "We admire Bulgaria's untiring efforts aimed at detente in the international situation and safeguarding peace and security in the world, we are ready to extend cooperation and mutual support with Bulgaria in the field of international activity and to contribute together with her to the cause of world peace", the minister of foreign affairs of China underlined.

In his toast speech Mr Petur Mladenov said that Bulgaro-Chinese relations have stood the test of time and now they are entering into a period of maturity, a period when foreign policy is required to be in absolute synchrony with the sweeping internal changes and the new content of the epoch and to meet their requirements. In this connection the possibilities of the new stage in Bulgaro-Chinese relations opened by the visit of the Bulgarian party and state leader Todor Zhivkov to China in 1987 should be pointed out. The Bulgarian foreign minister spoke about the accelerated development of the cooperation between Bulgaria and China in all fields and at different levels, expressing optimism over the future of the two countries' relations. The prerequisites for it are: the same type of social system in the two countries, the principles of equality of rights and mutual advantage, their common goal the construction of a socialist society and the sound basis of the traditional friendship between the Bulgarian and the Chinese people. The enormous work that is being done in the two countries for the restructuring of all spheres of life binds us to transform and innovate our relations in the spirit of the new requirements set by our time, Mr Petur Mladenov stressed.

He pointed out that the positive development of East-West relations, the weakening of confrontation and the first steps towards demilitarization have created a qualitatively new atmosphere in international life. He pointed out the progress of the relations between the Soviet Union and China as a clear example of the changes that have been brought about in international life and expressed firm belief that the new stage of their development will make an especially great contribution to the achievement of lasting peace, security and cooperation in the world.

At the same time, the Bulgarian minister underlined, there should be no blinking the fact that world peace is still vulnerable and that mankind faces problems which are yet to be solved and which will require the efforts of the coming generations to solve: the existing huge military arsenals and the continuing modernization of armaments, the danger of ecological catastrophe, the elimination of famine and poverty, the economic backwardness of many countries. "We firmly believe that these global problems can be solved only by all mankind's concerted efforts, by decisively restructuring international relations in the spirit of the new political thinking on the basis of the general political concept of the balance of interests", he stressed. Being a Balkan country, Mr Petur Mladenov added, Bulgaria pays special attention to her policy in this region, she makes everything what is necessary to improve the situation in the Balkans and to promote bilateral and multilateral cooperation. "We are for a stable, uninterrupted and constructive dialogue with all Balkan countries on the basis of noninterference in any country's internal affairs, no matter what the question may be", he pointed out.

Activities Reported

AU0611211889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Comrade Petur Mladenov's visit to Beijing continues. Official talks were held between Petur Mladenov and his Chinese colleague Qian Qichen today. The two ministers thoroughly reviewed the 40-year-old history of Bulgarian-Chinese bilateral relations. They reached the conclusion that, regardless of certain shortcomings that occurred during the period under review, the development of these relations can be described as positive.

The two ministers further analyzed the world situation in detail and discussed the main trends characterizing the present international situation.

The two sides established a unanimity or similarity of views on the most important trends of the contemporary world.

In closing their talk, Petur Mladenov and Qian Qichen briefed each other on the restructucturing processes under way in Bulgaria and China and on the problems which the communist parties are dealing with.

The meeting was followed by a ceremony during which the three following documents were signed: A cooperation protocol between the Bulgarian and Chinese foreign ministries.

A plan on scientific and cultural cooperation between the two countries' governments over the 1989-1990 period, and an agreement between the governments of Bulgaria and China on eliminating double taxation and on preventing income and property tax evasion.

Later on, Petur Mladenov was received by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council. The meeting was attended by Qian Qichen. Restructuring in the socialist countries, including Bulgaria and China, was the main subject of the ensuing talk.

Holds Talks

AU0711093789 Sofia BTA in English 2136 GMT 6 Nov 89

[Text] Beijing, November 6 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, today had a number of meetings with party and government leaders of China which confirmed the first day's impressions of a stable development of the friendly cooperation between the two countries in all spheres. No doubt the agreements signed in different fields will contribute to its further promotion.

At the official talks held by the Bulgarian foreign minister and Mr Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs of China, a shared assessment was made of the development of Bulgaro-Chinese relations, in the 40-year-old history of which there have been different periods due to different causes. The main direction, however, is towards advancement and in the final analysis a positive conclusion about the situation they are in was made. During the past years the peoples of the two countries got to know each other better and preserved their friendship and today they feel kindly towards each other. It was pointed out during the talks that especially in the last few years Bulgaro-Chinese relations got a new impetus and acquired new strength in their development after the meetings Mr Todor Zhivkov had with the leaders of China.

We are striving for the development of our relations with China in such a way, Mr Petur Mladenov underlined, as to bring them in conformity with the agreements which were reached at that time and which we highly appreciate. It can be said that now the relations in the political sphere are normally developed, without any problems, by exchanging numerous visits of delegations on different levels.

Trade and economic relations have also made a progress, the two ministers pointed out, but these are still the first steps towards serious cooperation. According to the Bulgarian side a lot is to be yet achieved in this field, because the volume of trade is now too small. The obstacles are well-known but they should be overcome and Bulgaria has already solved a number of problems connected with her trade and economic cooperation with China. Mr Qian Qichen added that China is taking the necessary steps for the fulfillment of the 1986-1990 long-term trade agreement. In conclusion of their talks on this aspect of bilateral relations, the two ministers underlined the shared desire for considerable progress, which has already been made in the two countries' sci-technical and cultural cooperation. Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Qian Qichen expressed satisfaction with the developments in fields where Bulgaro-Chinese contacts are particularly successful—science and technology in general and biotechnologies, electronics and laser technology in particular, i.e. the prospect-holding lines of advancement in this field.

The interaction in the international arena where Bulgaria and China share the same or similar positions on such key problems of mankind as peace and war, development and the necessity of a new international order was stressed as an important aspect of cooperation. Mr Petur Mladenov said that in Bulgaria there is a great interest in the development of China, the main processes of the construction of socialism there and in the way the arising problems are solved. Despite that the two countries differ greatly in size, we have a good deal in common and that is why China's experience in reforms is important for us, Mr Mladenov said. Mr Qian Qichen pointed out that China values high her relations with Bulgaria and expressed satisfaction with the support the two countries lend to each other in the international arena and with their mutual cooperation as a whole.

The two sides established that there is unity or similarity of the two countries' opinions on the key problems of the present-day world and underlined the necessity of establishing new international relations on the basis of the principles of non-interference in sovereign states' internal affairs, cooperation and equality.

Attention was focused on the processes of restructuring in the socialist countries—a factor of paramount importance in contemporary international development. It was pointed out that the reforms which are being implemented today have no alternative, because the main task of socialism as a social system is the prosperity of man in the conditions of social justice and economic (?equality). The view was expressed that the processes of restructuring and innovation are closely connected with the settlement of the major international problems and that on the other hand the strengthening of international security and the elimination of military threats are inextricably bound up with the advancement and the success of these processes.

In this connection the two foreign ministers pointed out the importance of the Soviet-American dialogue and the forthcoming meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush for the further detente and stabilization of the international climate, a significant contribution to which is the recent normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. The Bulgarian side analyzed in more detail the contemporary positive development of the relations among the European states and the Chinese side made an analysis of the situation in Asia and other regions of the world.

Both sides underlined that in the present dynamic international situation it is of particular importance to respect the sovereign rights of states and peoples to make their own choice and that the interference in internal affairs aimed at imposing this or that model of development in all cases leads to destabilization and poses a threat to peace and security in different regions of the world.

Immediately after the talks three documents were signed—a protocol on cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of the two countries, a plan for scientific and cultural cooperation between the Governments of Bulgaria and China for the 1989-1990 period and an intergovernmental agreement on the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of evading taxation on profits and property, which is of great importance as to the development of trade and economic cooperation by using new, more modern forms such as cooperated production, joint enterprises, etc.

Later on Mr Petur Mladenov was received by Mr Li Peng, member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and premier of the State Council of China. The main topic of their discussion was the restructuring in the socialist countries, Bulgaria and China included. After informing each other about the conditions and methods of the sweeping processes of reforms and innovation in the two countries, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Li Peng came to the unanimous conclusion that here the main landmark is the improvement of the socialist system. They dwelt on the democratization in Bulgaria and China, which is an integral part of the restructuring of socio-political and economic life. The two sides pointed out that one of the common tasks both countries have got to carry out is the establishment of law-based states—a necessary condition and a guarantee for their further development along the path of reforms, the success of which depends also on the international situation of lasting peace.

In the course of the discourse which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, Mr Li Peng expressed the hope that the relations of friendly cooperation between Bulgaria and China will continue to develop successfully.

Today Mr Petur Mladenov and the persons accompanying him were received also by Mr Wu Xueqian, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and vice-premier of the State Council, who gave a dinner in honour of his Bulgarian guests.

Meets Jiang Zemin

AU0711195289 Sofia BTA in English
1834 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Beijing, November 7 (BTA correspondent)—On the last day of his visit to Beijing Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee [CC] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and minister of foreign affairs, was received by Mr Jiang Zemin, secretary general of the Communist Party of China.

Cordial greetings were conveyed personally to the Chinese party leader and to Mr Deng Xiaoping on behalf of Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council.

Mr Jiang Zemin assessed the relations between the Communist Party of China and the Bulgarian Communist Party as normal and developing smoothly.

He told in detail about the most important socio-economic problems which the Communist Party of China has got to solve and which will be discussed at the forthcoming plenum of its Central Committee.

Mr Petur Mladenov explained the basic content of the BCP July Concept (1987) on the restructuring and innovation in all spheres of life in Bulgaria.

[Sofia Domestic Radio in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 7 November, after reporting Mladenov's reception by Jiang Zemin, adds the following: "Later Minister Mladenov departed from Beijing on a 1-day visit to the city of Tianjin. The port city, with a population of 7 million, is about 140 km from Beijing."]

Visit Ends

AU0811144789 Sofia BTA in English
1409 GMT 8 Nov 89

["Fruitful Bulgaro-Chinese Dialogue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Beijing, November 8 (BTA corr. Evgeni Donchev)—Ended the four-day official friendly visit to the People's Republic of China of Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria.

This first official visit of a leader of the Bulgarian diplomacy to China justified completely the expectations for a fruitful dialogue. The friendly talks in cordial atmosphere with Mr Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs, with Mr Li Peng, chairman of the State Council, and with Mr Jiang Zemin, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of China, provided opportunity for expression of the opinions of the two sides about the state and prospects of the Bulgaro-Chinese relations in all spheres and especially in the political one, which already includes cooperation on the international arena. Concrete expression and a new contribution to the development of the bilateral cooperation were the official documents signed by Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Qian Qichen, which regulate the cooperation between the two Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the scientific and cultural exchange and the elimination of double taxation. During the talks the two sides exchanged detailed information on the present-day processes of restructuring in the economic and political sphere under way in Bulgaria and in China. They ascertained that regardless of certain different methods and the different conditions their common goal is to express completely the advantages of socialism.

Identical or very close are the two countries' positions on the most important international issues. That is only natural because the foreign policy of Bulgaria and China is based on one and the same principles, such as noninterference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, desire for good-neighbour relations, cooperation and mutual advantage. During the talks and meetings the two sides ascertained that Bulgaria and China think with one and the same categories about the need of durable peace, elimination of the military threat and strengthening of the present-day tendency toward detente and stabilization of the international situation. In this way the two states make their joint contribution to the work of peace in the world and add new guarantees and preconditions for the further fruitful development of the Bulgaro-Chinese cooperation.

Mladenov Returns

AU1211171289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Nov 89 p 5

[Text] Sofia, 8 November (BTA report)—Petur Mladenov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, returned from China on 8 November. He paid an official visit to the PRC at the invitation of Qian Qichen, minister of foreign affairs.

Li Fenglin, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PRC in Bulgaria, was among the officials who welcomed Minister Petur Mladenov at Sofia Airport.

Visit Positively Assessed

AU1311123189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Nov 89 p 5

[Editorial article: "Bulgaria-China—Optimism About Future of Relations"]

[Text] Developing relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PRC fully corresponds to the interests and aspirations of the Bulgarian and Chinese peoples and the positive tendencies in contemporary international relations. Now, after the first visit of the Bulgarian foreign minister to the PRC has ended, it is possible to conclude that bilateral relations obtained a new impetus and continue to enrich themselves with more specific contents.

This conclusion is based both on Petur Mladenov's meetings and talks with his colleague Qian Qichen and other Chinese party and state leaders, and on the documents that were signed in Beijing. It is indicative that both sides noted with satisfaction the general positive development of bilateral relations during the past 40 years. What is even more important—the sides expressed their readiness to dynamically develop relations in all areas—politics, economy, science, culture, and technology. Favorable conditions for this have been created by many factors. Undoubtedly, the processes of restructuring, that are taking place in Bulgaria and other socialist countries, have a special importance among those factors.

The identical or close positions of Bulgaria and China on many international issues also are a factor which facilitates the development of relations between the two countries. As it was noted during the talks, today foreign policy is called upon to be totally in line with the requirements of the profound internal transformations and the new historical content of our time. The positive changes in USSR-Chinese relations, which contribute to further normalizing the international situation as a whole, have a great importance in this context. As a Balkan state, Bulgaria conducts fundamental policy aimed at improving the situation in the Balkan and developing mutually beneficial bilateral and multilateral cooperation with the states in the region. The results of Petur Mladenov's visit to China inspire optimism about the future of bilateral relations. Those relations' new stage began in 1987 with the visit of Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's first party and state leader, to China. Now the drive is to insert new content in the existing traditions and fully utilize the favorable objective conditions. The results of the new Bulgarian-Chinese dialogue will contribute precisely to this goal.

Zhivkov Greets Ozal on Election as President

AU0811192189 Sofia BTA in English 1836 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 8 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, has cabled sincere congratulations to Mr Turgut Ozal on the occasion of his election as president of the Republic of Turkey.

"I would like to express the hope," the cable reads, "that the relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Turkey will be developed in the best interests of our peoples and for the benefit of strengthening Balkan and world peace and security."

Filipov Gives Soviet Revolution Day Speech

AU0811180389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Nov 89 p 2

[Speech by Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, at a festive meeting held in the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia on 4 November to mark the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution]

[Text] Comrades, the anniversaries of the Great October Socialist Revolution have always been a festival for the whole of progressive mankind. This conscious involvement stems from the very nature of the revolution, which was a revolution of the people and for the people, for man, and for his liberation and development. October became the "high point" of mankind, the start of the socialist era.

Today the workers of the entire world are celebrating the anniversary of the October Revolution at a time of radical change. History has ordained that the eighth decade of Great October should pass under the sign of the revolutionary renewal of socialism. Accordingly, it is no accident that the Soviet Union—the cradle of the socialist revolution—became the initiator and flag bearer of this renewal.

Now, when mankind is entering the last decade of our century, the magnificence of the feat achieved by the pioneers of the first victorious socialist revolution is revealed even more vividly. From that day to the present the world historical process has been taking place under the irresistible influence of the Great October, which imparted a life-giving stimulus for realizing the brightest ideals and which represents a unique contribution to civilization's development.

The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the whole of our people have always celebrated and continue to celebrate the October Revolution anniversary as their own dearly loved festival. October inspired us in our struggle against capitalism and fascism and infused it with revolutionary determination, optimism, and purposefulness. Today too, the ideas and cause of October are our banner for the complete triumph of socialism on Bulgarian soil.

Comrades, October showed that the transition to socialism is a law-governed feature of ascending social development.

This was proved for the first time in the history of modern civilization by the exploit of the Russian people achieved in Russia in 1917 under the leadership of the Bolsheviks. Inspired by the idea of eliminating all exploitation and oppression and of creating a society of social justice, they made the socialist choice and set off along a path that no man had previously trod.

The birth of the socialist society did not take place in a smooth, painless manner. The revolution had its moments of uplift, its "childhood illnesses" and mistakes. The most difficult first steps to put the theoretical model of socialism into material form are inseparably bound up with the titanic work of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the inspired continuer of the revolutionary doctrine of Marx and Engels, the creator, leader, and strategist of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state. With outstanding perspicacity, he made timely corrections to a number of theoretical concepts in accordance with the specific historical conditions for building socialism in the Soviet Union.

Despite the difficulties and contradictions, the revolution radically transformed the face of the Soviet state. In place of the old backward Russia, today the mighty land of the Soviets has risen up with its immense economic, social, and intellectual potential. By courage and tenacious labor, the Soviet people consolidated the achievements of October. They carried, and continue to carry the inextinguishable flame of October from the fervor of creation to the indescribable sufferings and painful lessons, passing through the distortions caused by the deviation from the Leninist principles during the period of dominance of the personality cult.

The unparalleled heroism of the Soviet people in World War II formed a remarkable high point in the defense of the cause of Great October. This war vividly demonstrated the socialist virtues of Soviet man—soldier and worker, fiery patriot and internationalist. The victories of the Soviet Army revealed the profoundly humane heart of socialism. They inspired and continue to inspire new revolutionary achievements in many countries of Europe and the world.

From the high point of the October Revolution anniversary, with feelings of deep respect to the Soviet people, we can say this: In the years of the greatest social transformations, during the years of the trials of war, and in the years of peaceful constructive labor, the Soviet people constructed socialism and defended it as a new social order. This is the universal service rendered by the Soviet people, the people creator.

Today the ideas of Great October find real expression in the CPSU's general line concerning revolutionary restructuring. This line is not merely a continuation of the cause of October, but represents a development and intensification of this cause in contemporary conditions.

Just as in 1917, so now, stepping out after the April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee along the road of restructuring, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people have assumed the historic responsibility for the fate of socialism. In providing convincing arguments for the need of profound, revolutionary changes, the party of Lenin made a call for a decisive break with everything that had outlived its time, and opened the horizons for a radical renewal of all spheres of social life, in order to bring Soviet society into a qualitatively new state. Restructuring in the Soviet Union is a phenomenon that is being implemented at the initiative of the party and under the leadership of the party.

The restructuring does not reject what the Soviet people created during the entire period following the October Revolution. Quite the converse, it combines the continuity, innovation, and historical experience of Bolshevism with the contemporary features of socialism. What is at issue is a continuation of the cause of the pioneers of the revolution and the radical renewal of socialism.

The restructuring in the USSR has the aim of revealing the true humane nature of Soviet society, eliminating the authoritarian bureaucratic and technocratic distortions, and establishing the priority of the working man, with his ideals and interests. Certain people in the West are hoping that the radical transformations will extend beyond the principles of socialism. They hope in vain. The Soviet people have always made the socialist choice, and this choice is not subject to revision.

Through the October Revolution, as V.I. Lenin points out, the workers are being brought onto the path of independent creation of the new life. In continuing the cause of October, restructuring set as its primary task the further intensification and development of socialist democracy. The democratization of society became restructuring's heart and soul, and the future of socialism as a whole will hang on how this democratization develops.

On this basis, broad transformations are starting in the Soviet political system. They embody the ideas of the October Revolution concerning the people's right to have the deciding word in drafting the laws and implementing them in practice, and their right to elect their representatives and examine their activity.

As the political restructuring proceeds, the policy line of creating a law-governed state is being implemented step by step, the supremacy of the law is being consolidated, and the legal protection of man is being guaranteed. Society's democratic potential is being revealed. A stormy process is commencing of involving the masses in political life [politizirane na masite].

The formation of the First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and the work of this congress provide convincing proof of the expanding democratization of the whole of social life in the Soviet Union and of the establishment of socialist pluralism and glasnost.

A key factor in the restructuring in the USSR is the radical economic reform. The starting points of this reform are the radical change in the attitude to property, elimination of the system of administrative management by directive, expansion of the economic organizations' independence, and introduction of economic accountability. The CPSU embarked upon a course toward a revolutionary renewal of the entire economic system, which leads to a handover of economic power to the workers. The main issue in the new economic policy is the solution of a two-fold task: to complete the linking of production with the scientific and technical revolution, and to direct the development of the economy toward social tasks.

The restructuring in the USSR actively places man in the forefront, as a supreme value. The creation of new socioeconomic and political structures is subordinated to this. Notwithstanding the difficulties and accumulated problems, from the very beginning of restructuring the improvement of the standard of living became one of the priority directions of party policy.

Today, effective measures are being taken in the USSR to create a stable domestic market, solve the food problem, expand the production of non-food goods, solve the housing problem, improve health care, and increase the pensions of a number of sections of the population. All this is a new expression of the concern for man.

The friendship between the nations and peoples of the Soviet Union is one of the remarkable achievements of October. The Leninist principles have played an enormous role in consolidating the multinational Soviet state. At the same time, serious distortions have arisen in the practical implementation of the nationalities policy.

At the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee that was devoted to this issue, it was pointed out that the nationalities policy will be based in the future on "the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society." On this foundation, a new image will be formed of the Soviet federation, as a flourishing multination state. Within its framework, relations between nationalities will be constructed on democratic principles, equal rights, mutual respect, and the free development of peoples.

Restructuring is also introducing radical changes in the field of ideology, culture, and education. In essence, a new cultural revolution is now under way in the Soviet Union. The intellectual sphere is being democratized, monopolism is being eliminated in creative activity, and all spheres of social life are being given an intellectual content. The goal is to raise society to a state in which every man may be confident that his abilities, knowledge, and labor will find support and conditions for realization for the welfare of the individual and society.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is proceeding toward its 28th congress from the confirmed positions of promoter of the program goals of restructuring, as a uniting and consolidating force of Soviet society.

In evaluating the course of restructuring and its difficulties, the party of the Soviet Communists invariably emphasizes its own confidence, and the confidence of the whole people, in the success of this great cause of transformation.

We, the Bulgarian Communists, and our people welcome the confidence and optimism with which the fraternal Soviet people is making the first decisive steps along the road of restructuring, and wish them complete victory in the renewal of socialism.

Comrades, history so ordained that the party of the Bulgarian Marxists was among the first in the world to greet the victory of Great October 72 years ago. Led by Dimitur Blagoev, the patriarch of socialism in Bulgaria, the party warmly embraced the revolutionary cause of the Russian workers and peasants.

In this connection, the assessment made by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the importance of the Great October Revolution for our party and the Bulgarian people is extremely valuable for us: "We Bulgarians are especially proud, he said, that from the time October existed on Soviet soil, from the same moment it exists on Bulgarian soil, exists as an idea, as an example for the consciousness and struggles of our workers' class, the laboring peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia."

With the victory of the 9 September Socialist Revolution, our country started along the path illuminated by the Great October. Our remarkable successes in the building of socialism opened a new page in Bulgaria's history, stretching over many centuries. We take pride in these successes, that were achieved under conditions of friendship and cooperation with the fraternal Soviet Union.

At the same time, our experience has confirmed too that socialism is a living system, which is continuously perfecting itself in accordance with the changing new conditions. This is an objective law of development.

After 1956 the Bulgarian Communist Party, overcoming the errors and distortions from the time of the personality cult and implementing the Leninist April course, directed the country's development along the road of in-depth transformations in all fields. Bulgaria has developed into an industrial-agrarian country, a country with a developed sociopolitical and intellectual life, a country opened up to the world and its contemporary achievements.

Under the conditions of today's domestic and international realities, the new stage in the progress of the revolutionary process that is reflected in the in-depth restructuring of our society, is a natural, law-governed development. At the end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties problems began to arise, problems that can only be solved by means of radical renewal.

This is why the restructuring that we are carrying out in Bulgaria is neither a further improvement, nor even an adjustment of the previous model of socialism. While preserving everything positive contained in the previous model, we have started to create a qualitatively new model of socialism.

This model, confirmed by the July 1987 Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party, is aimed at solving a great historical task, namely, in the surveyable future, to reveal the essence, advantages, and attractiveness of socialism in our land, and to transform the People's Republic of Bulgaria into a highly developed, civilized socialist state. Just as at one time the 9 September Socialist Revolution was a continuation and, in the main, a repetition of the Great October, so now the renewal of socialism in Bulgaria coincides in its main elements with the restructuring in the Soviet Union. Our restructuring, just as is the case in the Soviet Union, from its very origin is a revolution within a revolution.

The adoption of the strategic course toward restructuring was of fateful importance for the country. The reasons for adopting this course were substantiated as the result of an immense amount of theoretical and practical work by the party, with the active participation of the whole of the people. This was the case because the issue of restructuring is one that concerns the future of socialist Bulgaria. The revolutionary cause of restructuring is, just as the shaping and implementation of the party's April general line was earlier, directly connected with the name and decisive personal contribution of Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

The July Concept is open for continuous enrichment and further improvement. The December 1988 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee was of great importance for the concept's implementation. The plenum interpreted this concept in practical terms, defined the lines for turning the concept into an effective policy, and for turning the policy itself into practical activity for revolutionary reforms and for fully utilizing the achievements of world civilization in Bulgaria.

Today, the problems concerning development of the forces of production and adequate changes in production relations lie at the center of the attention of our party and state leadership, and of the whole of the people. As is well-known, the socialist revolution in Bulgaria was victorious under conditions of extreme backwardness of the forces of production. During the brief period of history that has elapsed, a leap forward was made in the development of the forces of production. However, this does not mean that we have created a material-technical base on which we can totally construct socialism. It is, therefore, of fateful importance for us to march to the end of our historic path, creating forces of production of a kind that will provide a material condition for constructing socialism in Bulgaria.

The party's plans for creating a highly developed, competitive economy that is wide open to the world are of crucial importance for implementing the ideas and postulates of the July Concept. The task is to achieve a transition to a new technological method of production; to complete strategic structural changes in our economy and implement transfer of technologies from leading world countries and companies; and to give a social purpose to the whole of our economic development in the future.

The company-based organization is a powerful lever for revolutionary restructuring of the economy and the other spheres of life. We have already created the skeleton of the company-based structure. The task now is for bring the companies into line with modern conditions, by developing the shareholding principle.

Much lies ahead of us: Completing a radical maneuver in the foreign exchange field, including a transition to the convertibility of the Bulgarian lev; increasing the economic role of the banks under the new conditions; involving ourselves in the international market and in the movement of capital; and creating conditions and prerequisites for adequate national forms for our participation in world markets.

By solving these fundamental problems, the restructuring of the forces of production in Bulgaria fuses into a synthesis with the restructuring of production relations, and this will lead on to a complete implementation of the reform in socialist property relations. Only by completing this reform will the problem of overcoming the alienation of people from property and power be resolved and the interests of the people's millions finally realized.

Commodity-money relations are developing on a broad front, and the role of the market is increasing. We are proceeding toward a total restructuring of the mechanisms by which the state regulates the national economy. Our state will become a state of self-managing communities.

The question of man's position as a worker, creator, and consumer, as well as the issue of achieving a new quality of life for the people, occupy a central place in the overall restructuring of society. We are shaping a social policy under which the labor collective, territorial community, company, and every citizen become active agents. The essential thing here is that, through applying the shareholding principle, every worker should make his own personal investment in the solving of this own social problems in the place where he lives and works, and that through shares and bonds every worker may take part in determining and increasing the size of his or her own pension, the scope and quality of health-care services, the amount of social security, and so forth.

We are creating structural, technological, economic, and other conditions for forming a stable, rich market of goods and services for the population. Further development of the social infrastructure, science, and education is envisaged.

Ecological issues are becoming a vitally important problem of our development. In the country at the moment, a national program for environmental protection is being discussed. Our new ecological policy has also received rightful recognition at the all-European ecoforum in Sofia.

The restructuring in the intellectual sphere is another cardinal problem. It is being solved with the direct participation of the Bulgarian intelligentsia, who have always been inseparably linked with the party and people and have enjoyed their respect and recognition. The party's policy is aimed at renewing and elevating this sphere with a view to satisfying society's intellectual needs. The first congress of science and higher education, the second congress of national education, and the fifth congress of culture that are about to open in a few days, will outline the specific paths for the changes in this field.

The in-depth renewal of socialism is impossible without a comprehensive, consistent democratization and self-management of sociopolitical life, without ensuring wide glasnost and socialist pluralism.

Accordingly, at the center of the political reform in Bulgaria lies the idea of building a civic society in which the socialist power of the people develops and is implemented. Decisive steps have been made in this respect, in setting up the municipalities as territorial self-managing communities. By the granting of rights to the municipalities and townships, more life is infused into them, in the transition from power in the name of the people to power through the people. An in-depth renewal of our legislation will be implemented. Fundamental amendments to the Constitution and the system of supreme organs of power lie ahead. A new model will be formed for the National Assembly, as the supreme organ of people's power. The Council of Ministers will be increasingly confirmed as the supreme executive organ of self-management.

The further unification of the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian state is of exceptional importance for the success of the revolutionary renewal, for Bulgaria's advance. The times imperatively demand that we speed up the course of this process, through enhancing patriotic and international education and raising the socialist consciousness and national self-esteem of Bulgarian citizens.

The restructuring of society also means the restructuring of the BCP. Under the new conditions the party will reveal itself in action in a new way as a political vanguard, as a generator of ideas, as organizer and leader of the further construction of socialism in our land. The chief thing is that the party's relations with the organs of state power and the people's self-management should be built up and developed not by administrative methods based on directives, but in accordance with the principles of political leadership.

The Bulgarian National Agrarian Union stands side by side with the party as its loyal ally in the struggle for socialism and for renewing our society. In the specific historical conditions prevailing in Bulgaria, the relations between the BCP and the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union were in the past, and are now an example of socialist pluralism.

The Bulgarian trade unions, Fatherland Front, Dimitrov Komsomol, and the other social organizations and movements are becoming the bearers of the so-called "second nature" of society.

The various voluntary [samodeyni] associations of the citizens will acquire especial importance—both formal and nonformal ones, which may exist within or outside the social organizations, within the framework of the social communities, and so on, on the basis of legality and the principles of socialism.

All this shows that, as a result of the intensive and effective work of the party and the people's efforts, following the 13th BCP Congress and the July Plenum of the Central Committee [in 1987] the start was made on a process of in-depth renewal in the development of our society. We are now successfully building the first floor of our socialist building. The course that we have adopted is the right one. At the same time, we do have difficulties, and we have also committed errors. The process of transforming the theoretical postulates into political solutions and an effective practical policy has proved to be complex and difficult. This has been realized by the party, and it is striving to analyze the phenomena and the pressing problems in a timely manner.

The chief thing now is to develop restructuring in all spheres. The work at the forthcoming plenum of the BCP Central Committee will be directed precisely toward this aim. The Politburo report for this plenum has been published. On the basis of the analyses and postulates set out in the report, remarkable in their content, broad scale, and importance, the plenum will approve a broadly based platform for profound changes in the base and superstructure, in order to intensify the process of democratization. The whole of the preparations for the 14th BCP Congress will also be directed toward this. The wide democratic discussion of the draft laws for amending the Constitution of the People's Republic of

Bulgaria and the BCP Statute will even further mobilize the social energy of society and accelerate restructuring in Bulgaria.

Through this practically the entire front of restructuring is being advanced to new positions. We must achieve real breakthroughs in all fields of life. In this connection every settlement, every community, every oblast, every company and collective should have its own program for a radical change in its work. Every collective must accomplish the fulfillment of the plan for this year and make preparations for a real onslaught over the entire front of restructuring in 1990.

Let us prove ourselves worthy of our socialist fatherland, by continuing the patriotic upsurge that has gripped the whole country, an upsurge that will even more strongly unite our people in the complex situation that has appeared.

Today, more than ever before, we need unity and a mobilization of all forces in the name of restructuring, in the name of socialism.

Comrades, the great October also introduced profound changes in the modern world. Socialism has become the founder of a new type of international relations. It has proposed a fundamentally new approach for solving the problems of war and peace, for saving human civilization from the destruction wrought by wars. The ideas of October are embodied in the basis of the formulation by the party of the Soviet Communists of a philosophy of peace, and of the new political thinking, which is in accord with the new realities in the space and nuclear age.

The new political thinking is built upon the understanding that, despite the profound contradictions of the modern world and the great social differences between systems, this world is interconnected and interdependent, and represents a certain entity. Because of this, common human values and the balance of interests have acquired priority importance.

The Soviet Union and the socialist countries have not only proclaimed peace and disarmament as their ideals, but are also converting the philosophy of peace into practical actions and are filling their words with real political content. Thanks to this, the new thinking has begun to forge a path in world politics. Favorable changes are occurring in the climate of international relations. The danger of nuclear conflict is decreasing. Understanding and trust are expanding between East and West. Soviet-U.S. relations have perceptibly improved. The great possibilities of the new political thinking as a "philosophy of action" were demonstrated by the first effective steps toward a nuclear-free world, by the real expectations of a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, by the new constructive approaches toward resolving the acute regional conflicts, and by the new prospects for disarmament in the field of conventional weapons, elimination of chemical weapons, and a complete ban on nuclear tests.

In the spirit of the new political thinking, the socialist countries today are strengthening their security not by increasing their military potential, not by increasing their military budgets, but by maintaining their defensive capacity at the level of reasonable sufficiency. The Soviet Union and a number of socialist countries, the People's Republic of Bulgaria included, have declared unilateral cuts in their troops and armaments, and have directed themselves toward converting part of their military production into production for civilian needs.

These important changes in the development of the common European process are laying a solid foundation for the future common home of the European peoples and states. On the basis of the Vienna accords, negotiations, unprecedented in their scope and content, have started between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on reducing conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. Vienna created new possibilities for cooperation in the economic and technological fields and in the sphere of the human dimensions of the common European process. Evidence of this is provided by the Conference on Human Rights in Paris, the London Information Forum, and the Ecological Conference in Sofia. A new step in the further development of this process was proposed by the Warsaw Pact member countries in their Bucharest declaration. These proposals are aimed at reducing conventional arms in Europe, reducing and later eliminating tactical nuclear weapons, and strengthening confidence on the continent. This will represent a great step forward in overcoming the aftermath of the "cold war" in Europe and throughout the world.

The principles of socialist foreign policy, proven by historical practice, form the foundation of our country's foreign policy course. The friendship, alliance, and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries form the unchanging foundation of our national security and our policy of restructuring.

Under the conditions of the in-depth renewal of socialism in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, Bulgarian-Soviet relations have entered a new stage. At the meeting between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow in June of this year, the idea was raised of the need for a "new model" for our cooperation and all-round drawing together. Priority is being given to industrial production-sharing, scientific and technical cooperation, direct links between companies and enterprises, to the transition from exchanging to uniting our potentials, to various types of joint production, to integration in the scientific and technical field, and to new forms of contacts in the fields of culture and science.

Relations with the Balkan countries are of especial importance for the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Our country has always striven and will continue to strive to make its own contribution toward strengthening security, understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans, and thus promote the construction of the future common European home.

Toward achieving this end, our country has put forward numerous, vitally important initiatives and proposals for establishing security and good-neighborliness on the Balkan peninsula, for developing mutually beneficial cooperation and joint activity in settling the global problems in the region, for turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical arms, for ensuring the ecological protection of the Balkans, and for reducing military confrontation.

In recent years our country has made ceaseless efforts and undertaken specific steps to normalize Bulgarian-Turkish relations. We are guided by the clear awareness that the deterioration of the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey is of the least benefit to our two states and two peoples. Their present and future lie in normal, good-neighborly, and civilized relations between them, and in understanding and cooperation between all the countries in the Balkans and throughout the world. The People's Republic of Bulgaria has acted and will act in this direction. An expression of this was the Bulgarian-Turkish meeting held in Kuwait on 30 October this year. We hope, and it is our sincere desire that the encouraging impressions from the first meeting will be followed by practical decisions during the following ones.

Comrades, 72 years have elapsed since the Great October Socialist Revolution, the greatest historical event of the 20th century. For 72 years already, progressive mankind has been drawing strength and inspiration from October in the struggle for the triumph of a new and fairer world.

These were years filled with struggles and defeats, but also with constant faith and bright hopes, with creativity and unceasing advance, with triumph of the ideas and cause of October and of the socialist revolutions in other countries that followed its example.

Under the banner of October, the Bulgarian Communists and the whole of our people are also marching toward a new world—the world of communism.

We will never deviate a single step from this path!

May the undying cause of the Great October last through the centuries!

Zhivkov, Leaders Attend Funeral of CC Member

AU0411201189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Today active fighters against fascism and capitalism, public figures, and many citizens went to the Central Sofia Cemetery to pay their last respects to the mortal remains of Georgi Pavlov, member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, member of the National Assembly, and Hero of Socialist Labor.

Among those attending were Comrade Todor Zhivkov and other members of the party and state leadership. A letter of condolences from Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the relatives of the deceased was read. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 26 Oct-3 Nov

AU0611091389

[Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1600 GMT on 27 October through 1600 GMT on 3 November report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Milko Balev and Yordan Yotov held a meeting with Bulgarian journalists in Sofia on 1 November to mark journalists' day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 1 Nov 89)

The following Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) leaders met with Bulgarian journalists in the Boyana Residence in Sofia on 1 November: Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, Grisha Filipov, Emil Khristov, Nacho Papazov, Dimitur Stanishev, Dimitur Stoyanov, Vasil Tsanov, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Nov 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, received in Sofia on 2 November the newly appointed ambassadors of Switzerland (Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 2 Nov 89), Japan (Sofia BTA in English 1849 GMT 2 Nov 89), Laos (Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 2 Nov 89), and Cyprus. (Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 2 Nov 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 2 November Jean Lebel, president of the National Council of French Engineers. (Sofia BTA in English 1920 GMT 2 Nov 89) In Sofia on 3 November he received UN Undersecretary General Mostafa Tolba. (Sofia BTA in English 1244 GMT 3 Nov 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, presented awards to servicemen for outstanding performance in socialist competition in Sofia on 26 October. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Oct 89 p 2)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, received the new Cypriot ambassador, Frixos Kolotas, in Sofia on 2 November. (Sofia BTA in English 1410 GMT 2 Nov 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, ended on 28 October his visit to Japan at the head of a Bulgarian economic delegation. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 28 Oct 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, met in Moscow on 28 October with CPSU Politburo member and secretary Slyunkov and Leonid Abalkin, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 28 Oct 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, departed from Sofia on 29 October with a delegation for talks in Kuwait with a Turkish Foreign Ministry delegation (Sofia BTA in English 1815 GMT 29 Oct 89); on the same day he arrived in Kuwait and was received by Kuwaiti Foreign Minister Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah. (Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 29 Nov 89) Yordanov ended his talks with Turkey in Kuwait on 30 October. (Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 30 Oct 89) In Kuwait on 31 October he had further consultations with the Kuwaiti foreign minister, and then returned to Sofia. (Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 31 Oct 89)

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met in Sofia with a CPSU Central Committee working group that ended its visit on 27 October. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Oct 89 p 2)

Appearances 3-10 Nov

AU1311084889

[Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1600 GMT on 3 November through 1600 GMT on 10 November report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

The following leaders attended a festive meeting in Sofia on 4 November to commemorate the 72d anniversary of the October Revolution: Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Petko Danchev, Dobri Dzhurov, Grisha Filipov, Emil Khristov, Pencho Kubadinski, Andrey Lukanov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Nacho Papazov, Dimitur Stanishev, Dimitur Stoyanov, Vasil Tsanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Nov 89 p 1)

The following leaders attended a reception given by Soviet Ambassador Sharapov in Sofia on 7 November to mark the 72d anniversary of the October Revolution: Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Petko Danchev, Dobri Dzhurov, Grisha Filipov, Emil Khristov, Pencho Kubadinski, Andrey Lukanov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Nacho Papazov, Dimitur Stanishev, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Vasil Tsanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Nov 89 p 1) (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Nov 89)

The following leaders attended a wreath-laying ceremony at the Lenin Memorial in Sofia on 7 November: Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Dobri Dzhurov, Grisha Filipov, Pencho Kubadinski, Nacho Papazov, Stoyan Ovcharov, Dimitur Stanishev, Grigor Stoichkov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Yordan Yotov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Nov 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, and other unnamed leaders attended the funeral in Sofia on 4 November of BCP CC member Georgi Pavlov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Nov 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Zhu Xun, PRC minister of geology and mineral resources, in Sofia on 8 November. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 8 Nov 89)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, delivered the address at a festive meeting held in Sofia on 4 November to mark the October Revolution anniversary. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1359 GMT 4 Nov 89) (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Nov 89 p 2) On 8 November he departed from Sofia for Prague with a BCP delegation to attend a conference of party central committee secretaries on economic affairs from the CEMA countries. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 8 Nov 89)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, left Sofia on 4 November on an official visit to the PRC. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 4 Nov 89) In Beijing on 5 February he spoke at an official dinner given for him by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. (Sofia BTA in English 1817 GMT 5 Nov 89) In Beijing on 6 February he held talks with Qian Quichen and others (Sofia BTA in English 2136 GMT 6 Nov 89), and on 7 November was received by Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee. (Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 7 Nov 89) Mladenov ended his visit to the PRC on 8 October. (Sofia BTA in English 1409 GMT 8 Nov 89)

Yordan Yotov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, spoke at a meeting-seminar in Sofia on 8 November of the National Club of the Youth Artistic and Creative Intelligentsia. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 89) In Sofia on 9 November he chaired a meeting of the National Assembly's Intellectual Development Commission that discussed improvements to the national system of rituals and festive ceremonies. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Nov 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, was received in Paris on 6 November by Prime Minister Jean Rocard, during a business visit to France.

(Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 6 Nov 89) In Paris on 8 November he held business talks with French ministers and ended his visit. (Sofia BTA in English 0835 GMT 8 Nov 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 8 November Karl Frithjofson, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Swedish Sports Federation. (Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 8 Nov 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a Soviet-Bulgarian friendship societies' delegation in Sofia on 4 November. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Nov 89)

Bratislava Radio Reports GDR Developments 10 Nov

LD1011125989 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee will be in session in Berlin today for the third day. Slavomir Malickay reports:

[Malickay] At the 10th SED Central Committee session the action program is still being discussed. The program is intended to be a clear guide to the current process of change in the GDR.

The press here today details yesterday's discussion which went on until midnight. In particular, it mentions the speech by Hans Modrow, who will be nominated 13 November by the SED People's Chamber caucus for the office of chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Hans Modrow explained the main intentions of economic reform; he did not exclude the possibility of creating a coalition government.

Central Committee secretary Guenter Schabowski's news conference, which was held late in the evening, was also received with great interest.

He said that every GDR citizen would immediately receive permission to travel upon request and would receive permission to leave the country permanently within 48 hours. Citizens will be able to cross all borders with the FRG and West Berlin. In this way the GDR is actually opening its borders. When explaining this step Guenter Schabowski pointed out, among other things, the complicated situation in which Czechoslovakia has found itself due to the GDR citizens leaving for the FRG.

It was also announced in Berlin today that a meeting of SED members will be held tonight at which Egon Krenz will be speaking.

[Announcer] What is the initial reaction in the FRG to the news that the GDR citizens could travel to the West with no restriction? Our Bonn correspondent Jiri Halousek reports:

[Halousek, in Czech] There are, basically, two types of reactions to this news: The media do not try to hide their euphoria. The Bundestag, which was discussing some domestic issues in the evening, immediately interrupted the session upon hearing the news. The floor was taken by celebrating speakers and the session ended with the deputies singing the FRG national anthem.

However, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl was much more cautious. In a television interview from Warsaw, where he is currently on a state visit, he said the he does not know what will be the consequences of this decision. When asked whether his country is able to take in further GDR citizens should they want to stay in the FRG, Helmut Kohl said that the situation now is very difficult and after his return to Bonn he will open contacts with the GDR leadership.

FRG Interior Minister Wolfgang Schauble appealed to GDR citizens considering crossing the border to think again and take into consideration that there is currently an acute housing shortage in the FRG. He said that this year over 220,000 GDR citizens moved to the FRG as well as 300,000 persons from other countries. It is no wonder that with regard to these facts many people here look upon the news with considerable concern.

Berlin Decision: No 'Marked Effect' on Crossings

LD1011164989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Major Jiri Belohlavik, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of the Interior, announced today that on the basis of an agreement between the Governments of the GDR, the FRG, and Czechoslovakia, 62,500 GDR citizens have crossed to the FRG from Czechoslovakia between 4 November and 12.00 hours [1100 GMT] today. Formalities on the Czechoslovak side are being carried out smoothly, without any significant delays.

The GDR Government's decision to immediately allow GDR citizens to exit permanently through the border crossings from the GDR to the FRG or to West Berlin has not had any marked effect up to 1200 hours today at the border crossings between Czecholsovakia and the FRG.

RUDE PRAVO Views SED Congress, Speeches

LD1111101989 Prague CTK in English 0918 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 1 (CTK)—"The decision to convene a party conference after 33 years, the action program outlined in an almost three-hour speech of Egon Krenz, sharp, sometimes excited speeches, the extensive reconstruction of the political leadership - all that characterized the course, atmosphere and results of the three-day session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) RUDE PRAVO said today. [no closing quotes as received]

It pointed out that the orientation of GDR Communists at energetic changes are not mere empty words but real deeds. Addressing people outside the party headquarters, GDR Communists pointed to severe mistakes, self-satisfaction, self-praise as well as to an unjustified, angry reaction to wise recommendations of friends. "These mistakes and other social causes were a key factor in the decision of many GDR citizens to leave their homeland", Egon Krenz said at the session.

The problems at the same time encouraged the forces which saw in the crisis situation a possibility of revenge and their own offensive.

The three-day session of the SED Central Commitee showed what steps the SED leadership intends to take in the future. A national agreement is to be a final target. "The aim of the political reformatory process can only be the reaching of social consent to solving problems in the framework of the socialist social system", Egon Krenz stressed.

"GDR Communists enter these days with the resolute conviction that modern, dynamic socialism is not in harmony with previous rigid, narrow-minded approaches which led to the party and society into the present crisis", the paper stressed.

"The party now draws strength from its courage to speak openly, with self-criticism, honestly and to call things with proper names. It relies on collectivism of its members and on the awareness of responsibility for further course of events", it concluded.

Changes in GDR, SED Plenum Assessed

LD1111222189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] The deliberation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee ended in Berlin yesterday. I have with me in the radio newsreel's studio Jiri Cebrovsky. Can you tell me where do you see the significance and peculiarity of this deliberation?

[Cebrovsky] Personally I do not like the word watershed but there are many reasons for describing the 3-day deliberations of GDR Communists this way. The reason it was important is that it outlined the way of getting extricated from the current crisis. Another reason it was important was that it was said in a resolute, critical, and self-critical manner, and finally it was also important that it took place at the time of a big, internal political turmoil when there even existed the threat of a split within the party ranks and when a palpable absence of the party's ability to take action was manifested.

[Announcer] I would like to put it this way now: Whoever follows developments in the GDR, including the deliberation of the SED Central Committee plenum, probably is asking himself whether what was at issue was in fact a cardinal problem, i.e. confidence in party policy, don't you think so?

[Cebrovsky] I believe that you have characterized it precisely. The inertia of inflamed mistrust has been operating in the GDR for a long time now. This is a political fact. Whether this phenomenon has been provoked from outside or through one's own mistakes does not change the essense of the problem. The party will be able to carry through its program of action and renewal only if it wins people's confidence. This is, as you have said, a truly cardinal problem.

[Announcer] Can the decision the GDR authorities made enabling GDR citizens to travel abroad be regarded as a step toward changing this state of affairs?

[Cebrovsky] Yes, I think that this was a very wise political decision, which has emphatically liquidated old dogmas. It is and I believe will be beneficial both for the GDR and relations in Europe as a whole. Look, which statesman would be enthusiastic about the fact that around 200,000 people left his country when he knows at the same time that this mass exodus has been caused by the lack of belief that things will change for the better. Egon Krenz, the highest party representative of the GDR said clearly we have to admit that we have to seek the reasons behind this painful exodus from our country.

[Announcer] What you have said sounds as if the exodus from the GDR has ended or that it should end soon. The fact is however that reports say that the opposite is true.

[Cebrovsky] No, I have in mind that conditions are being created for the exodus to cease. The thing now is to ensure that good intentions are translated into action. Words, even if they are the nicest ones, will not help in this case. Personally I am convinced that the present changes in the country, which are often hasty, do not mean that people in the GDR want to liquite the GDR but rather that they demand the dismantling of the old, negative, and perhaps bureaucratic and obsolete.

[Announcer] I have one more question. Voices can be heard saying the situation that has been created in the GDR can potentially lead to a certain instability?

[Cebrovsky] This is a good and I would say an urgent question but it is more difficult to seek the answer to it because many things are in motion. From the internal political viewpoint it is apparent that forces are raising their heads in the GDR that want revenge and they are using the crisis situation as an opportunity to mount their own offensive. Naturally, the GDR does not exist in isolation. It forms a part of Europe. The old continent is reacting very sensitively to the changes in the country. Look only at the reactions concerning the Berlin Wall. There also exists here a pressure of certain foreign forces who want to take advantage of this situation to carry through the ideas of the reunification of germany and the like. This is why it depends so much on the program of action of the GDR communists to have a successful launch and no less successful continuation, although seeing it through will be uncommonly difficult and complicated, a fact one must not forget for a single moment.

Editor on 'Extraordinary' Situation in Berlin

LD1211120589 Prague in Czech to Europe 2230 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] (Jaroslav Hefer), editor of Radio Prague, reports his impressions from the GDR capital. Berlin does not to remind us at all at first sight, he says that it is a city at the center of world interest. We had a beautiful and very peaceful autumn day. Long lines at the border crossings between the two parts of the city were the only sign that something extraordinary was happening. They were forming westward in the morning, and in the opposite direction in the afternoon. They were, as is characteristic for the GDR on the whole, peaceful and orderly.

Crossing the border was not complicated; it was enough to wave a GDR identity card in front of customs officers.

Really hundreds of thousands of people made use of this opportunity, not only because they have an opportunity to look around the other part of the city after a long time and to buy something with the DM100 they are given.

The lines were also peaceful because the population is assessing very positively the results of the 10th session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, which ended on Friday and which emphasized the need to carry out principal political reforms in the country and build socialist legal state. Understandably, people still consider some points not fully worked out, and they have also some reservations, but basically it is possible to say that the principal idea put forward by the SED Central Committee is being received very positively. After all, this also is confirmed by the fact that an overwhelming majority of Berlin citizens return home from their visits to West Berlin.

Prague Reports GDR Refugee Exodus, Overcrowding

LD0911165789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] During the past 24 hours, over 11,000 GDR citizens have arrived in the FRG by passing through Czechoslovakia. Also during last night, an average of 260 people per hour were crossing the border.

According to West German Radio, since 5 November more than 48,000 people have arrived in the FRG through Czechoslovakia. About 140 reception camps for displaced persons are overcrowded. Border police asked individual Laender within the Federal Republic to gradually take in new arrivals to ease the burden on the reception centres in Bavaria. Individual Federal Laeder are hurriedly seeking further accomodation. Because of exhausted capacities, Bremen was the first to temporarily halt the reception of more immigrants. Complaints by the local population are increasing.

Jakes Congratulates Bulgaria's Mladenov

LD1011223689 Prague CTK in English 1746 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 10 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes has sent a telegram of congratulations to Petur Mladenov on his election as general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In the telegram Milos Jakes expressed his conviction that all- round cooperation between the two parties will continue to develop and help strengthen the ties of friendship between Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

Trade With Poland Expected To Increase in '89

AU0811124289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 89 p 6

[Excerpts] Prague (CTK)—The turnover of Czechoslovak-Polish trade is to reach R3.6 billion this year, which is roughly 10 percent more than last year. Machinery and equipment account for three-quarters of the goods exchange. [passage omitted]

In mutual trade, there exist some problems which, however, do not seriously endanger the structure of the overall trade. For example, this year there have been problems with Polish exports of agricultural and food products. [passage omitted]

Representatives of the Polish Embassy's trade section stressed that despite the current changes in the Polish economy, which is opening up more to the West, the Polish People's Republic is interested in maintaining close economic relations with the CSSR.

Dispute With Allies Over Exchange Rates

AU0811155589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Nov 89 pp 1, 3

[Article by Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance, in response to a PRACE question: "When Will the Exchange Rate of the Koruna Become More Realistic?"]

[Excerpts] In response to questions from our readers, we have requested that Jan Stejskal, CSSR minister of finance, answer the question of how the noncommercial exchange rates of our currency against the currencies of CEMA states are fixed. In connection with strong inflationary trends in some CEMA countries, our readers point out in their letters that these exchange rates are not realistic, which often leads to profitable bulk buying by "tourists" in our shops. He sent us the following reply:

I welcome the opportunity to provide the readers of the daily PRACE with an explanation of this highly topical issue.

The 1963 Agreement

The method of fixing exchange rates between the currencies of socialist states is set out in a multilateral intergovernmental agreement of 1963, as amended in 1974 and by a follow-up system of bilateral agreements. [passage omitted]

Under the intergovernmental agreement, a change of the exchange rate is possible either in case of agreement of all participating countries (in such a case, the rate of exchange of one or several currencies against all other currencies is changed), or on the basis of a bilateral agreement—the newly agreed rate of exchange must not, however, deviate more than plus or minus 20 percent from the multilaterally valid rate of exchange.

This system had its justification at the time of a relative stability of retail prices, a slowly diversifying range of merchandise, an almost unchanging level of supplies to the internal markets, the overall supremacy of the state sector, and a relatively great degree of isolation of all participating countries.

Not in Accord With Today's Conditions

Meanwhile however, the situation has substantially changed. Some countries, such as the Polish People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic [as published], and the SRV, are affected by inflation. Elsewhere, even if the internal market is relatively stable, the state retailing network accounts for a shrinking proportion of total trade turnover and the proportion of goods which are subject to free price formation is growing. In yet other countries, there is an absolute shortage of goods of virtually every sort. [passage omitted]

Given this situation, almost all participating countries acknowledge that the valid multilateral agreement is not in accord with today's conditions. In practical life, however, most of them are not willing to agree to a change in the existing state of affairs.

The present system puts at an advantage states with the fastest growth of inflation as well as states whose expenditures on tourism to socialist countries exceed their earnings from this tourism.

These states have a considerable economic interest in the preservation of the present state of affairs and they can, by their disagreement [with changes], obstruct the legitimate exchange rate demands of their partners. [passage omitted]

Negotiations on Exchange Rate Changes

In the given situation, the CSSR conducts talks with virtually all participating states to bring about a change in the rates of exchange. At the same time, we are also making use of other possibilities of cushioning possible negative consequences such as customs measures, the introduction of sale of gasoline for vouchers, and so forth.

With several countries we have agreed, on the basis of bilateral agreements, on 20 percent deviations in favor of the koruna from the multilaterally agreed rates of exchange. In the case of countries where it is unavoidable and possible, we are also limiting the amount of korunas allocated to foreign tourists visiting the CSSR. With respect to some countries, we demand that our surplus from tourism be offset by deliveries of consumer goods or raw materials to the CSSR.

Within the framework of bilateral negotiations with the Hungarian Republic we demand—on the basis of the fact that since the last change in the rate of exchange between the koruna and the forint in 1985 the level of retail prices in Hungary has increased almost 50 percent and in 1989 alone, 18.2 percent—that the koruna be revalued (under the present rate of exchange, 100 forints equals Kcs45). The Hungarian side, on the other hand, links the objectification of the exchange rate with other considerations, especially with the greater proportion of merchandise imported for freely convertible currencies on the Hungarian internal market and with the generally great demand of our citizens and banks for forints.

The second argument is beginning to lose its justification. Data for the first 8 months of this year show that the gap is gradually being closed between the volume of funds which Czechoslovak citizens purchase in our banks for travel to the Hungarian Republic and the volume of resources which Hungarian citizens purchase for their trips to the CSSR. A negative role in this context is played, however, by the illegal export of the Czechoslovak currency to Hungary, be it by Czechoslovak or Polish citizens.

Negotiations with the Ministry of Finance of the Hungarian Republic continue.

As far as the Polish People's Republic is concerned, on the basis of a multilateral adjustment of the exchange rate of the zloty, we have achieved this year several bilateral adjustments of the noncommercial exchange rate of the koruna against the Polish zloty. Whereas in January we could purchase in Czechoslovak exchange bureaus 100 zloty for Kcs4.94, since 1 November we have paid Kcs0.899 for 100 zloty. The pace of inflation in the Polish People's Republic is very rapid, however, and the gradual devaluation of the zloty is trailing behind it. We are therefore negotiating with the Ministry of Finance of the Polish People's Republic not just about a further adjustment of the exchange rate, but about changing the whole system of fixing noncommercial exchange rates.

With our partners in the Soviet Union we are negotiating on improving the koruna's rate of exchange against the ruble. No agreement has been reached at these negotiations so far and the partners refuse to agree to the devaluation of their currency against the koruna. A role is also played by linkages to other areas of foreign trade. The conditions for solving the question of the noncommercial exchange rate are thus assuming a more comprehensive nature.

As for the Bulgarian People's Republic, negotiations on the rate of exchange will continue on the basis of comparisons of the retail prices of selected types of merchandise and service, in accordance with the valid CEMA methodology.

Within the framework of work on the restructuring of the foreign exchange and financial mechanism of CEMA, the CSSR is pressing for the creation of a new system of fixing the noncommercial exchange rates of national currencies, which would allow individual countries to flexibly adjust the noncommercial rate of exchange to changing internal and external conditions. Meanwhile, the Czechoslovak proposal has the backing of only some CEMA countries, and even they support it only to a certain extent.

Party Presidium Issues Foreign Policy Statement

LD1011163689 Prague CTK in English 1550 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 10 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium today dealt with Czechoslovakia's stand on regional conflicts and its share in their solutions.

It stressed that the Czecoslovak foreign policy is based on the principle to tackle conflicts and crisis situations not from the position of strength but on the basis of reconciliation and settlement in tune with international law.

That is why Czechoslovakia supports the policy of national reconciliation in cases of intrastate disputes and as regards interstate conflicts, it supports all realistic steps which would replace hostility and distrust with negotiations attended by all sides concerned.

Czechoslovakia supports the natural right to individual and collective self-defence in the sense of the U.N. Charter, and calls for strengthening the role of the United Nations in preventing conflicts and as a mediator and guarantor in peace talks.

Communique Issued

AU1311122789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 1

["Report From a CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium discussed a report on the course of the party primary organizations' annual members' meetings and a report on the political situation at its session on Friday [10 November]. It also discussed the contents of letters recently received by the CPCZ Central Committee from party members and other citizens.

It reviewed the current status of the draft principles for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia program. This is one of the documents which will be submitted to public discussion before the 18th CPCZ Congress.

It discussed the status and tasks of the Czechoslovak Peace Movement in our society, a movement whose task is to continue to make an active contribution to the preservation of peace and the elimination of the threat of war.

It made note of the course and results of the United Agricultural Cooperatives' district conferences. As was stated, the conferences demonstrated that, despite a number of difficulties, the united agricultural cooperatives have adapted themselves well to the new conditions of management and are seeking and implementing new policies in production and in their management method. The conferences have established a favorable political atmosphere for convening the 11th United Agricultural Cooperative Congress at the beginning of December.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium became acquainted with a report on the course and results of the third round of the talks on conventional armed forces and on the measures for strengthening trust and security in Europe.

It discussed Czechoslovakia's stance on regional conflicts and the CSSR's involvement in resolving them. It emphasized that Czechoslovak foreign policy proceeds from the principle of resolving conflicts and crisis situations not from a position of strength but on the basis of reconciliation and agreement while implementing the principles of international law. Therefore, Czechoslovakia supports a policy of national reconciliation in cases of intra-state disputes and in cases of conflicts between states it supports all realistic steps that would replace hostility and distrust with negotiations involving all parties concerned. It continues to support the natural right to individual and collective self-defense as defined by the UN Charter. The CSSR also advocates increasing the role of the United Nations in preventing conflicts and as a mediator and guarantor in peace negotiations.

The Presidium was briefed on a report on the course and results of a working visit made by Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, to France and Switzerland from 29 October to 4 November. It was also briefed on a report on the visit made by Oleg Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, to the CSSR on 24-27 October.

Official on Release of Blacklisted Films

AU0811123289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Nov 89 p 5

[Article by Hviezdoslav Stefan, director of the Czechoslovak Film Institute: "On the Release of Some Films From the Sixties"]

[Excerpt] Discussions have been going on for some time in the leadership of the Czechoslovak State Film and in the Union of the Czech Theater, Cinema, and Television Artists about when, and how, to release several films which were shot in the sixties and not yet publicly screened. These discussions have resulted in a realistic solution.

Two subcommissions were set up earlier this year for this purpose—one made up of representatives of Czechoslovak Film, specialist institutions, and political bodies and one composed of representatives of the Union of Czech Theater, Cinema, and Television Artists. Following a detailed and comprehensive consideration, they recommended to the leadership of Czechoslovak Film to release (or screen again) these and several other films that had been prematurely withdrawn from distribution, in an appropriate manner. In doing so, they proceeded from the fact that the decision not to approve the aforementioned films (at issue are six full- length feature films— Larks on a String; Ear; Seventh Day, Eighth Night; Aesop; Obsequies; Fools' Ark) for distribution was made in certain historical conditions and was motivated by the needs of the period of consolidation after the years of crisis 1968-69.

Our society has come a long way since then. It openly reacts to critical voices; social awareness has changed. In our opinion, the inclusion of most of these films in the programs of our cinemas will not convey any surprising and unexpected messages to the Czechoslovak spectator. The films involved are, of course, of diverse quality, appeal to the audience, and artistic ambitions and the method of their gradual release will correspond to this.

The following films from the sixties will be gradually prepared for routine distribution in cinemas: Larks on a String; The Joke; All the Good Countrymen; Spoiled Sunday; The Ridiculous Gentleman; The Return of the Lost Son; The Woman in White; The Bride's Night; Shame; Honor and Glory; and The Cremator of Corpses.

The following films are intended for release in film clubs: Ear; Seventh Day, Eighth Night; Aesop; Obsequies; On the Party and its Guests; The Parish Priest's Death; Coach to Vienna; Courage for Every Day; Hotel for Foreigners; Fools' Ark; Nine Chapters from Ancient History; The End of September in the Ozone Hotel; A Case for the Apprentice Hangman.

It goes without saying that this decision does not mean a change or a reassessment of our distribution policy as such, a reassessment of the events of the time, or of the films themselves. It is primarily an expression of the attempt to scrap a decision that has been overcome by time. This will also make it possible to better determine what were the values of the day and which values have general validity. The tinge of cheap sensation and myth will be removed, which will contribute to a more objective view of the entire rich and complicated period of the sixties in the Czechoslovak film. [passage omitted]

Reasons for Nuclear Plant Construction Delay

AU0711121289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 89 p 2

[CTK report: "A Meeting of Ministers Apropos the Construction of Mochovce"]

[Text] Mochovce—Evaluating the current situation and adopting measures to limit further delays in the construction of the nuclear power plant at Mochovce were the aims of Friday's [3 November] meeting of ministers from departments participating in building this power generating project. Pavel Bolvansky, member and secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Presidium, participated in the discussions at Mochovce. Jan Siroky, head of a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee department, and Ladislav Vodrazka, deputy CSSR premier entrusted with managing the CSSR Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and the Electrotechnical Industry, were present.

So far, the delay in construction is estimated at 23 months. There are several reasons for this. However, the main reason is achieving sufficient application of the original design of the new, technically advanced, automated system for controlling technological processes. Delays have also been caused by adjustments in implementing a higher standard of anti-seismic measures and by insufficiently utilizing capacities regarding the construction and technological parts of the project. Lingering shortcomings in supplier-customer relations also play a significant role in the construction's regime not being fulfilled.

The meeting, in which Antonin Krumnikl, CSSR minister of fuels and power; Ivan Steis, Slovak Socialist Republic minister of construction and the building industry; and Jozef Keher, CSSR Government plenipotentiary for the construction of nuclear power plants, also discussed realistic possibilities of fulfilling the alternative deadline for bringing the first block into trial operation in September 1991.

Minister Denies Intention To Raise Prices

AU0711214689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 89 p 2

["RP"-signed article in the "Reader Asks" column: "On Rumors About Price Increases"]

[Text] Of late, many "guaranteed" rumors have cropped up among the public, saying that on 1 January the prices of some industrial products and foodstuffs will be raised. Several readers have asked us this question.

The RUDE PRAVO editorial office has asked Alfred Sebek, CSSR minister in charge of the Federal Price Office in Prague, to take a stand on this. His answer:

"Raising the retail prices of consumer goods or food products is contemplated neither this year nor on 1 January 1990.

"As it is known, the exception is the raising of prices for dailies and magazines on 1 January 1990. However, the individual publishing houses have already been informed in detail about this."

Millions Travel After Borders Open Up

New Regulations Outlined

LD0911184489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government spokesman has informed ADN that the GDR Council of Ministers has decided that until a relevant legal regulation of the People's Chamber comes into force the following rules for private trips and permanent emigration from the GDR abroad are in force with immediate effect:

1. Private journeys abroad can be applied for without meeting preconditions (reasons for journeys and degree of kindred). Permission will be given promptly. Reasons for rejection will only be applied in particularly exceptional cases.

2. The responsible passport and registration departments of the district offices of the People's Police in the GDR are instructed to issue visas for permanent emigration without delay and without the still valid conditions for permanent emigration having to exist. The application for permanent emigration is, as before, also possible at the departments for internal affairs.

3. Permanent emigration can take place via all GDR border crossing points to the FRG and Berlin (West).

4. The temporary issuing of permission at the foreign missions of the GDR and permanent emigration with the GDR personal identity card via third countries thus lapses.

Borders Open

LD1011112789

[Editorial report] East Berlin Voice of the GDR in German at 2100 GMT on 9 November carries an 8-minute interview with Colonel (Gerbitz), not further identified, on visa regulations for GDR citizens wishing to travel abroad.

Col (Gerbitz) says that private journeys abroad can be undertaken without the need to provide the usual reasons for them. Permission will be granted quickly. The destination is immaterial. All citizens applying for a private trip will at the same time apply for a passport. For those who already have a passport, permission to travel will be granted within about 1 week. If a passport is applied for at the same time as a visa, the whole process will take 10-14 days. Buying foreign currency will be as before, i.e. dm 15 can be bought in the GDR.

In the case of permanent emigration, (Gerbitz) says that visas will be granted without delay, without the usual valid conditions for such an emigration. "Without delay" means immediately, or within 48 hours.

(Gerbitz) says that all border crossings to the FRG and West Berlin can be used and are now open. Trips via third countries, e.g. the CSSR, no longer make any sense. Foreign representations of the GDR will no longer issue permission to emigrate; permanent emigration from the GDR via third countries with an identity card is also no longer possible. The situation in Hungary is different, as the Hungarian Government has opened its borders for GDR citizens even when they do not have authorization to emigrate.

(Gerbitz) says that permanent emigration via the border crossings to the FRG and West Berlin is possible with a visa in the personal identity card. But there is no point in going to the border crossings with a personal identity card which does not contain a visa.

First Berliners Arrive

LD0911223789 Hamburg DPA in German 2206 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—According to eyewitness reports the first citizens of East Berlin have crossed the frontier into West Berlin for short visits with the permission of the GDR authorities. They were using the permision announced by the GDR shortly before for emigration and private visits to West Berlin and the Federal Republic. Many just had to show their identity cards.

As a West Berliner told the live cameras of ARD's "Tagesthemen" at 2125, a young couple came crying into the Western part of the city at the Wedding crossing point. He reported some moving scenes such as embraces and tears of joy. Afterwards several hundred East Berliners came through the crossing point, some of them with stamps of the People's Police in their identity cards. All of them wanted to return.

At another crossing point—it was said—hundreds of East Berliners were told to wait until tomorrow. Then offices would be open in order to approve the necessary emigration and visitors' documents. [passage omitted]

'Thousands' Cross Border

LD1011004689 Hamburg DPA in German 2254 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Some thousands of GDR citizens have come to the East Berlin border crossing points tonight in order to get to West Berlin. At the Bornholmer Strasse opposite the West Berlin area of Wedding alone, there stood many hundreds of East Berliners who had heard the news about the open borders on radio and television.

They were let through by the GDR border guards after showing their identity cards. Thehre was a line about 2 kilometers long at the approach roads. Many people said that they just simply wanted to try to see if they could get to the other part of the city.

The stream of East Berliners concentrated on the three intra-city crossing points, Bornholmer Strasse, Checkpoint Charlie, and Sonnenallee. According to the police, it was no longer possible to count the people at Bornholmer Strasse. "They are streaming in," a police spokesman said. The GDR border guards had apparently withdrawn.

A customs official at Sonnenallee described the situation as "chaotic." At Checkpoint Charlie, about 2,500 people, obviously onlookers, had gathered on the western side. The traffic was at a standstill for much of the time. At the Brandenburg Gate, too, people continued to gather. Everything was peaceful. Some were climbing about on the wall. British military police tried to persuade them to climb down again.

East Berliners reported on the [radio station] "Sender Freies Berlin" that they had simply started to run when they had heard about the new regulation on television. They had only shown their identity cards and had been allowed through without further formalities. "I'm also going back again," one of them said.

'Tens of Thousands' Cross

LD1011095889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0811 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Tens of thousands of GDR citizens passed through the border checkpoint to Berlin (West) on Thursday night/Friday morning after the announcement of new travel regulations. Many returned to the GDR after a brief visit to Berlin (West).

SED Politburo Member Guenter Schabowski unexpectedly announced 9 November that GDR citizens can receive visas to cross through border checkpoints to the FRG and Berlin (West) in an unbureaucratic and quick procedure. [passage omitted]

GDR border troops on duty at the Bornholmer Strasse checkpoint estimate tens of thousands crossed the Boese Bridge on foot by motorcycle, car or even bicycles. One couple, Rita and Detlef Freund, described the members of the border troops as "friendly, polite and helpful after a 6-hour stay in West Berlin. The atmosphere was like in the Alex [Alexanderplatz] last Saturday. The few rowdies were brought to order by the other people" [passage omitted]

In the Brandenburg Gate section, where there is no border checkpoint, several hundred citizens from the GDR capital and from Berlin (West) violated the state border. After a while the GDR citizens finally obeyed the instructions of the border troops and withdrew from the border sector without further incident. On the territory of Berlin (West) the restoration of order near the border was assisted by the police there. Peace prevailed around the Brandenburg Gate early this morning.

Staff of the passport and registration department worked overnight at the border checkpoints to complete the formalities there as a short-term measure in line with the 9 November decision by the GDR Council of Ministers. The passport and registration department at the police presidium has been open since 0030 to process visa applications. On submission of a passport, a multiple-exit visa valid for 6 months is issued. Citizens not yet in possession of a passport can receive a visa in their identity cards. [passage omitted]

People Re-Cross Border

LD1011100889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0911 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the Bornholmer Strasse checkpoint in Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg District, hundreds of GDR cars were still piling up as late as 0800 hours (local) this morning. Neither has the flow of pedestrian traffic let up. A border official told ADN that anyone still coming without a valid visa could cross the border. Afterward, the situation should return to normal following the initial understandable excitement during the night, and citizens should adhere to the procedures set out out in today's newspapers. He has been at the border checkpoint since 0230 and can confirm that the first great wave of people returning to the GDR occurred between 0500 and 0600 this morning, with people repeatedly calling out to him: "We have to go to work!"

The GDR border officials continued to answer questions from citizens about travel in a friendly and helpful manner. Two high school students who came back said: "We have to hurry, we have to go to school!"

Thousands of cars with Berlin and GDR registration numbers whose passengers wanted to cross the border on foot have been left at the Bornholmer and Seitenstrasse checkpoints.

Travel Regulations 'Permanent'

LD1011133389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1251 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The new travel regulations that came into effect yesterday were decided on by the Council of Ministers in response to an initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo. This was stated by Colonel Gerhard Lauter, head of the Passports and Registration Department of the Interior Ministry, today to GDR television's Aktuelle Kamera.

Asked about the differing treatment of border traffic, he said that thousands of people had been waiting for such a regulation and had streamed to the crossing points. In order to avoid a dramatic situation, processing had taken place in an unbureaucratic manner.

Colonel Lauter said he is unable to forecast the duration of the methods now being practiced with regard to travel to the FRG and Berlin (West). He appealed to all citizens of the GDR to have confidence in the travel regulations that have been decided on, which are permanent, realistic, secure, and stable. In order to avoid unnecessary waiting, people should only apply for a visa at the time of the planned trip.

New Border Checkpoints

AU1011170989 Hamburg DPA in German 1538 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR is currently negotiating with the West Berlin Senat on the establishment of new border checkpoints between East and West Berlin. This was announced by GDR Interior Minister Friedrich Dickel in the GDR Television newscast "News on Camera" [Aktuelle Kamera] on Friday afternoon. According to him, further border checkpoints at the border with the FRG are also being considered.

Dickel said that in Berlin the opening of new subway stations is under consideration as well as links with the bus lines in the Western party of the city.

The minister stressed that the new regulation concerning the opening of the border is a "lasting" one. The GDR citizens can rely on this, he said.

Border Barriers Stormed

AU1011194689 Hamburg DPA in German 1741 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—On Friday afternoon several hundred East Berliners broke through the barriers to the West near the border checkpoint Bornholmer Strasse in the Prenzlauer Berg District. According to eyewitness reports, the column formed from a line of people that was several hundred meters long. The people were waiting in front of the border checkpoint for their clearances.

Ar first, a group of about 20 people forced open a steel door at the outer ring of barriers and advanced into the border area. The group was quickly joined by hundreds of people, obviously tired of the long wait.

According to the reports, armed GDR border soldiers futilely tried to direct the crowd from the border area to the checkpoint. Only a few followed the orders of the GDR border soldiers. The rest marched across a bridge crossing suburban train tracks and, passing by a watch tower, advanced toward the second ring of the wall. There loopholes to the West Berlin Wedding District were opened to the advancing crowd.

Subsequently, the steel door was closed again. Shortly afterward the GDR border officials at the Bornholmer Strasse checkpoint gave up stamping visas into the identity cards and waved the waiting crowds through, the reports say.

According to information from the police, another 5,000 to 6,000 Berliners from East and West gathered in front of the Brandenburg Gate in the afternoon and celebrated the opening of the borders. On the wall up to 1,000 people stood, danced, or sat on the Wall. West Berlin police and British military police did not interfere. Music groups provided the atmosphere of a festival.

On the eastern side People's Police and GDR border troops had cordoned off the square at the Brandenburg Gate, but did not act against the people on the Wall.

New Crossing Points

LD1011190989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1749 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Further border crossing points to West Berlin will be opened in the next few hours and days. According to an announcement by the press department of the Interior Ministry, they are at the following places:

Mahlow and Glienicker Bruecke in the Potsdam area (presumably from 1800 on Friday 10 November 1989).

Eberswalder Strasse, Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg (presumably from 0800 on Saturday 11 November 1989).

Puschkinallee, Berlin-Treptow (presumably from 1300 on Saturday, 11 November 1989).

Potsdamer Platz, Berlin-Mitte (presumably from 0800 on Sunday, 12 November 1989).

Wollankstrasse, Berlin-Pankow (presumably from 0800 on Monday, 13 November 1989).

Falkenseer Chaussee, Nauen District, Potsdam Area (presumably from 1800 on Monday, 13 November 1989).

Stubenrauchstrasse, Berlin-Treptow (presumably from 0800 on Tuesday, 14 November 1989).

Teltow, Phillip-Mueller-Strasse in Potsdam area (presumably from 0800 on Tuesday, 14 November 1989).

Troops Dismantle Barriers

LD1011185889 Hamburg DPA in German 1841 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—GDR frontier troops this evening started to dismantle the barrier installations in front of the wall in order to set up a new city crossing point at Potsdamer Platz. This was reported by the West Berlin police. The wall has to be pulled down at this spot. The crossing point will be opened at 0800 on Sunday.

Comments on Travel Rules

LD1111101789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0309 GMT 11 Nov 89

(Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Our borders are open," the NATIONAL ZEITUNG writes today in a commentary on the new travel regulations for GDR citizens. "Still stunned and in an ecstasy of joy, thousands immediately set off to renew broken contacts, to walk along the Kurfuerstendamm. Members of the People's Police at the border crossing points, as well as officials in the registration offices reacted promptly and unbureaucratically. This is new, too."

Pictures, reports and opinions are proof, the newspaper writes further: "Out of a constriction that had become unbearable, the people are breathing a sigh of relief, although they can scarcely believe what has happened. After all, yesterday it was still unthinkable." It was a ray of hope of renewal in accordance with the will of the people. "A step to win back the lost trust of the people by showing them trust. Perhaps some of them will now return."

The paper states: "Many tears of accumulated hopelessness have flown during these days, and such is the enormous joy about a memorable event on a day which can be be called historic. They are linked with the desire for a speedy, satisfactory financial solution, and the urgent call to do everything to make the newly won freedom in our country irreversible."

Situation at Berlin Border

LD1111085189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0741 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The great crowding to the GDR border checkpoints to Berlin (West) continues today. Showing of identity cards is sufficient to cross the border.

According to a National People's Army border troops captain at the Bornholmer Strasse border checkpoint, during the past hours several GDR citizens who had left their homeland via Hungary and the CSSR returned here.

ADN reporters reported from the Chausseestrasse checkpoint that the lines of people and cars are present becoming longer. The situation is similar at the Invalidenstrasse checkpoint. [passage omitted]

According to an Interior Ministry statement, further border checkpoints to Berlin (West) are to be opened today.

Today's GDR press is reporting in detail about Friday's rush to the checkpoints. The newspapers are also commenting on the new travel regulation, and citizens are getting a chance to express themselves.

Crossing Point Opened

LD1111095589 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] The third new border crossing point to West Berlin has been in operation since 0800 today; the crossing point in Eberswalder Strasse in the capital city area of Prenzlauer Berg. A crowd, which continued to increase during the early hours of the morning, greeted the opening with applause. Last night the crossing points at Glienicker Bridge and Mahlow were opened. Great crowds are also reported at the control points in Bornholmer Strasse, Heinrich-Heine-Strasse, Chausseestrasse, and Invalidenstrasse. The new travel regulation for GDR citizens is in force for an indefinite period, and forms the basis of the future travel law. However, the German People's Police are instructed to make on-the-spot decisions, Interior Minister Dickel stated yesterday. All registration offices are open this weekend. Approximately 55,000 citizens made short visits to the FRG yesterday.

Brandenburg Gate Damaged

LD1111113389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1022 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin/Berlin (West) (ADN)—Eyewitnesses report that a tense situation prevails at the Brandenburg Gate. At around 0600 a slab was torn from the wall by a tractor from the West Berlin side. GDR border guards are at present replacing it.

People who came through the gap or who jumped off the wall onto GDR territory were forced back with water cannons.

Numerous onlookers have come to the site. On both sides of the border camera teams are following events. About 200 unarmed GDR border troops are posted in the no-man's land itself. In addition, border guards are standing on the wall. There were vehement discussions between them and West Berlin citizens.

The events are being observed from a military helicopter circling the Tiergarten on West Berlin territory. British military police and West Berlin police, with numerous vehicles, are present.

More Trains Provided

LD1111120589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1036 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Because of the increased holiday traffic to the GDR capital, as well as to Berlin (West), additional trains from the Berlin-Lichtenberg station will be laid on this evening. Special trains will run to Leipzig, Magdeburg, Dresden, and to Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Metro Line Opened

LD1111123689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1121 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The capital's Jannowitzbruecke metro station was opened today to help the flow of tourists traffic to Berlin (West). In the first hour many GDR citizens made use of this new facility. For M2.70 they can travel either to Leinestrasse in the West Berlin city area of Kreuzberg, or to Paracelsus-Bad, in the city area of Wedding.

1.6 Million Visas

LD1111145189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1340 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—From Thursday evening until 0800 this morning, 1,660,011 visas for private trips by GDR citizens to West Berlin and the FRG have been issued by the People's Police passport and registration offices since the new travel regulations came into force.

The GDR Interior Ministry spokesman stated this afternoon that during this same period 8,160 authorizations for permanent exit from the GDR were issued.

2.7 Million Visas

LD1111162389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1541 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—By 1300 today the German People's Police have issued 2.7 million visas for private travel since the new travel regulations came into force, the Interior Ministry spokesman told ADN this afternoon. That means that there have been 1.1 million such stamps in the last 5 hours alone. This clearly shows that the issue of visas is proceeding quickly and unbureaucratically.

The same ministry's press section told ADN that at the moment all transit trains leaving Berlin were filled to up to double their capacity. The Reichsbahn was making extra carriages available. There were traffic jams at most border crossings to the FRG, whether on freeway or local road. [passage omitted]

Situation 'Tense' Again

LD1111191789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1843 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The situation at the state border at the Brandenburg Gate is once again tense. Well over 1,000 people gathered on the West Berlin side.

Bottles and other objects have already been thrown from the crowd, Lieutenant Colonel Geyer told ADN. Until a short while ago border troops were standing shoulder to shoulder on the wall in this section; cordons have been posted behind the wall. A water cannon is standing by.

On West Berlin territory the wall is being protected by a dense chain of riot police vehicles. The police squad leader, in a conversation with the commander of the GDR border troops, gave the assurance that climbing the barrier would definitely be prevented. As a result and after examination it was decided to withdraw the posts from the top of the wall except for a few observers. [passage omitted]

Visa-Free to Denmark

LD1111192889 East Berlin ADN in English 1843 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—GDR citizens have been allowed to travel without visa to Denmark for the time being.

The Justice Ministry in Copenhagen on Saturday ordered passport authorities at all Danish border posts to issue a 72-hour visitor's visa to all GDR citizens with a legitimation and wishing to enter Denmark. Minister of Justice Hans Engell said this was a temporary measure. Speaking to POLITIKEN newspaper he said the world historic event of the opening of GDR borders was an occasion to give GDR people the opportunity to see for themselves what it looked like on the other side of the border.

Berlin Mayors Meet

LD1211080789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0720 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This morning Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack and the West Berlin Mayor met at the opening of the checkpoint at Potsdamer Platz.

The checkpoint in the center of Berlin is the fifth new border checkpoint to Berlin (West) to be opened since 10 November.

The stream of GDR citizens making use of the regulation for journeys to the FRG and to Berlin (West), which came into force 9 November, continued during the night and this morning.

Mayor Speaks out

LD1211083689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0754 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A new border crossing point to Berlin (West) was opened this morning. Berlin Chief Mayor Erhard Krack described today as a very important date in the city's historical development.

Shortly before the opening of the border crossing point at the historic intersection, which formerly was the busiest in Berlin, Krack spoke to hundreds of journalists from all over the world. It also was a good day in the process of formulating relations with West Berlin, Erhard Krack emphasized, for one must start from realities.

In reply to a question as to whether he had thought this development possible 2 weeks ago, the chief mayor said he had not considered it out of the question, "more than that, he had wished it." Asked further whether this day was also a historic one for him, he answered briefly: "Yes." He then asked the journalists to let him go talk to Walter Momper.

The control point at Potsdamer Platz is the fifth new border crossing point to Berlin (West) opened since Friday evening.

Mayors Address Crowd

LD1211094789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0825 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—After the opening of the new border crossing point to West Berlin at Potsdamer Platz this morning, [East] Berlin Chief Mayor Erhard Krack and Governing Mayor of West Berlin Walter Momper met directly at the borderline and greeted each other with handshakes. After answering many questions from journalists they spoke using megaphones to the thousands gathered around.

First of all Walter Momper thanked "on behalf of all those who afterwards wish to come over here" those who had made the creation of the crossing point possible. He called on all those who are experiencing this historical moment here to continue to maintain discipline. "So far we have managed very well on both sides to regulate the onslaught; in good cooperation the police and the border guards from the GDR have regulated everything correctly so that it has gone off in a relaxed atmosphere. We should continue to keep this level-headness and discipline."

Erhard Krack, too, thanked the GDR border troops, the construction pioneers, and all those who had made this meeting possible. "I wish us to have our meetings peacefully and level- headedly and, above all, I wish for life to proceed as normal in our city tomorrow." [passage omitted]

New Checkpoints Open

LD1211100789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0835 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Since 0800 today more border checkpoints to the FRG have opened, the GDR Interior Ministry press office stated. Pedestrians and those in vehicles can now enter and exit at the checkpoints at Vacha-Philippsthal in Bad Salzungen District, Hoehnbach-Neustadt in Sonneberg Kreis [district], Hessen-Mattierzoll in Halberstadt Kreis, and Ellrich-Walkenried to the Nordhausen Kreis Rail. Travellers can also be processed at Ellrich- Walkenried. Buses are operating every 20 minutes between Wernigerode and Stapelburg (FRG).

According to the Interior Ministry bad traffic jams have formed again at many border checkpoints. For example the jam at Teistungen-Duderstadt in the Worbis Kreis stretches for 25 km. The traffic jam on the highway to Marienborn did not diminish during the night. [Hamburg DPA in German at 0859 GMT on 12 November reports another checkpoint opening: "At 0900 today the GDR opened a new checkpoint near Ullitz on Route 173 between Hof and Plauen."]

3.3 Million Visas

LD1211093189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0906 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] From 10 November up to 0800 today, GDR authorities issued 3,377,029 visas to GDR citizens for private travel. The GDR Interior Ministry added that 9,771 authorizations for permanent emigration from the GDR have been issued during the same period.

Border Troops Provoked

LD1211105889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0947 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—This morning there were impediments to the flow of visitors at the Potsdamer Platz border crossing point, which was opened just this morning, on the West Berlin side. After the first group of GDR citizens passed through the crossing, residents of West Berlin and journalists forced their way into the restricted area.

Members of the GDR's border troops and the West Berlin police held them back, made a gangway, and allowed the cross-border traffic to resume shortly after 0900. Some people sat down on the wall and attempted a provocation. After calls via megaphone, the group of those who had forced their way onto GDR territory left the border area again. Citizens of West Berlin sitting on the wall withdrew after the brief deployment of a water cannon.

Klaus Pietsch; a captain in the GDR border troops, who has been on duty continuously since yesterday morning, gave a positive assessment of cooperation with the West Berlin police. However, the attempts since Thursday by West Berlin citizens to tear down the wall on their side with pickaxes and other implements were questionable. He said that it was not a majority of West Berliners, but some hooligans, mainly "Republicans," had mingled with the sightseers. [passage omitted]

4.3 Million Visas

LD1211150889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1424 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Interior Ministry's press office announced today that from 9 November up to 1300 today, 4,298,375 visas for private trips to the FRG and Berlin (West), as well as other states, were issued by the People's Police. During the same period, 10,144 visas for permanent emigration were issued.

Cross-Border Bus Service

LD1211164989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—Ten double-decker buses belonging to the BVG [West Berlin Transport Authority], in cooperation with the Potsdam transport authority, began a service between Bassinplatz in the historical Dutch quarter of Potsdam and the West Berlin city borough of Wannsee over the weekend.

This will assist the swift processing of visitor traffic from the GDR between Potsdam and Berlin-Wannsee via the Drewitz/Dreilinden frontier crossing-point. Thousands of citizens of the Potsdam Bezirk have used this quick, unbureaucratic transport link to visit West Berlin friends or for a stroll around the town.

New Crossing Points

LD1211170489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1636 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Erfurt/Gera (ADN)—Four new frontier crossing points were opened in the Erfurt Area at the weekend and immediately joyfully used by thousands. They are the crossing points in Ellrich in the Nordhausen District, Hohengandern in the Heiligenstadt district, and Katharinenberg in the Muehlhausen District. [passage omitted]

According to a statement by the People's Police Area headquarters in Erfurt to ADN on Sunday evening, there are no plans to close any of the crossing points. However, the new points only have a small capacity, and cannot cater for as large a volume of traffic as Wartha.

On Sunday evening, the wave of returning visitors reached its height, confronting the frontier authorities with unprecedented situations.

Another crossing point at Probstzella in Thuringia will be open for pedestrians from 0600 on Monday. Because of road-building work which still needs to be done, it will be open for vehicles only from Saturday, 18 November.

Troops' Orders

LD1211195189 East Berin ADN International Service in German 1910 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] [No dateline as received] Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler expressed his views in a GDR television interview this evening on the present deployment orders for the GDR border troops, in the wake of the enforcement of the new travel regulations: The concrete order to the border troops, soldiers, noncommissioned officers, cadets, and officers was that they should do all in their power to help ensure the tourist travel proceeded in an orderly and smooth fashion.

Furthermore, they should "do all in their power to ensure that no one violates the generally recognized state border and that no one can destroy the border installations set up for this purpose. This should not involve the use or deployment of firearms."

Checkpoint Opens

LD1311083389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0801 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Another new border checkpoint into Berlin (West) for pedestrians and cars opened today in Wollankstrasse in Pankow. Since 0800 many citizens have been taking the opportunity to reach the other part of the city. [passage omitted]

Restricted Zone Lifted

LD1311110689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0931 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The restricted zone in the border area of the GDR's state border with the FRG is being lifted with immediate effect. This measure, which makes it easier for GDR citizens to enter and stay in the border area at the state border with the FRG and Berlin (West), was announced by the Ministry of National Defense.

All the villages, town districts, enterprises, and installations that are in the protection zone are thus no longer border territory and free access to them is guaranteed. Thus, the authorizations previously required to enter and remain there do not apply. Agricultural, forestry, as well as other national economic uses of the protection zone will take place in coordination with the responsible commander of the GDR border troops.

The controls made by the German People's police at the access points to the border area will be stopped and the signs marking the border area will be taken down or changed. At the GDR state border with Berlin (West) the course of the border area will be changed so that it does not include any living or working quarters. Thus the authorizations previously necessary will also not apply.

Cross-border traffic between the GDR and the FRG, as well as between the capital of the GDR and Berlin (West) can only take place over the border crossing points set up for this.

Speedboats will be allowed along the whole width of GDR maritime waters up to 12 nautical miles. The relevant legal regulations will be altered without delay.

The following border crossing points are newly opened: On November 11 Stapelburg, Bad Harzburg, Ellrich, Walkenried; on November 12 Gadebusch, Ratzeburg, Hohengandern, Witzenhausen, Untersuhl, Obersuhl, Vacha, Philippsthal, Hoenbach, Neustadt, Blosenberg, Feilitzsch/Hof, Hessen, Mattierzoil; on November 13 Katharinenberg, Wanfried, Probstzella, and Ludwigsstadt.

4.5 Million Visas

LD1311131889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1150 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The spokesman for the GDR Interior Ministry has announced that from Thursday, 9 November, until 0800 today the German People's Police has issued 4,556,278 visas for private trips. In addition, 10,504 applications for permanent emigration from the GDR have been authorized.

Lawyers Council Prepares Draft Travel Law

LD1211110789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0757 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Council of the Chairman of GDR Colleges of Lawyers have worked out drafts for a GDR travel law as well as for a law on the transfer abroad of the permanent residence of GDR citizens. Council Chairman Dr Gregor Gysi gave the documents to ADN last night.

In an accompanying letter the council thanked those citizens and collectives who had turned to them with trust with well over 1,000 comments. Many of their comments also concerned questions that were to be settled outside of these drafts, such as the new formation of customs and foreign currency laws, the entry of foreigners for visits, the return of former GDR citizens, the new regulation of the right-of-asylum law, and the entry of foreigners who wish to work in the GDR.

The draft travel law, which in their opinion should be called the passport law, starts from the assumption that every GDR citizen receives a passport after completing their 14th year, that they can travel abroad at any time and can return. It is not meant to apply to business trips, for which various regulations from the state authorities, ministries, and enterprises are likely and which would be distinguishable by a business visa in the passport.

The draft states specifically that a citizen's right to travel "can be temporarily limited or temporarily excluded as long as this is absolutely necessary for carrying out a preliminary investigation or legal proceedings or to implement a legal decision" by a relevant entry in the passport or by withdrawal of the passport. The court responsible would make the decision on this exclusively.

Experience of the so-called border crossers from the time up to 1961 has made it necessary to include the formulation that the passport can be taken away for up to a year if a citizen pursues an activity abroad for remuneration and with the income gained there finances his living in the GDR without instructions from the state or state authorization.

The draft law stipulates the possibilities of obtaining the means to pay for travel within the competence of the Ministry of Finance. However, each citizen has the right to purchase a certain amount of freely convertible currency each year. The People's Chamber should decide the amount to make available after the annual statement by the Council of Ministers on income and expenditure in freely convertible currency for the respective following year.

The two drafts have been handed to the responsible authorities as contributions to the public discussion.

East, West Berlin Police Set Up Phone Link

LD1211101389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0931 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—ADN learned today from the GDR's Interior Ministry that from today there is a direct telephone link between the Presidium of the People's Police in Berlin and the West Berlin Police Presidium.

It will be possible via this to agree on measures necessary on both sides for guaranteeing public order and safety directly.

SED Issues 'Action Program' for Reforms

LD1011183289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1641 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Action Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]

Steps for Renewal

The German Democratic Republic is on the move. A revolutionary popular movement has set in motion a process of serious upheavals. The renewal of socialism is on the agenda.

The peaceful mass protests of the population, the affirmation of the will of many political organizations, the constructive work of church circles, and the growing pressure from the grass roots of our own party, as well as a learning process in the party leadership, were needed to break open the rigid political structures and launch the first steps of a turnaround.

The 10th session of the Central Committee has dealt critically and self-critically with its own work and with the situation in the party and country. It has noted that serious mistakes by the retired general secretary and the retired Politburo led the party and republic into a deep crisis. The party image was damaged for millions of working people.

To fully meet its great responsibility in socialist society the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, must regain trust in its own strength and develop the ability to work out a concept for modern socialism. Radical reforms for this are essential. They must serve the workers, farmers, intellectuals, and all other workers. The objective is to imbue socialism in the GDR with new dynamism through more democracy.

What has been achieved in 40 years of worker and peasant power on German soil, that into which the antifascists, the veterans of labor, and all citizens of our country have put all their strength, forms the starting point for renewal.

The power of the working class and its allies, our party in an equal alliance with all democratic forces in our country, social ownership of the means of production, as well as planning social and economic development are the prerequisite and guarantees for further expanding socialist society. The indestructible alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states is also a guarantor for the new socialist departure. Our friendship with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist world is of vital importance. International solidarity with the peace-loving and progressive forces of all continents is indispensable. The GDR remains a reliable factor of peace, dialogue, and disarmament as well as international security and cooperation.

For a Reform of the Political System

We propose holding the People's Chamber elections on the basis of new electoral legislation. We are in favor of an electoral law that guarantees a free, general, democratic, and secret ballot and public examination at every stage of the election.

We support the People's Chamber and local elected bodies taking up, without restrictions, their constitutional rights and obligations without tutelage as sovereign instruments of power accountable to the people.

We are in favor of a democratic coalition government.

The SED is in favor of local self-administration of cities and communities based on communal property and guaranteed rights of disposal of material and financial funds.

The SED intends to make its contribution in a wide movement that unites all social forces on an equal basis for dialogue and coresponsibility in forming a modern, renewed socialism. We approve the work of new political associations on the basis of the Constitution and seek a consensus with them. We are in favor of trusting relations between the state, the church, and religious communities.

For the Socialist State Based on the Rule of Law

It is a question of a socialist state based on the rule of law, which emanates from basic and human rights and organizes society throughout on the basis of the law. Justice and the law are the measure of the SED's political action.

The Central Committee proposes the establishment of a constitutional court that sees that the Constitution is adhered to.

The Central Committee considers the following new laws to be urgent:

A law on the freedom of association

A law on the freedom of assembly

An electoral law

A media law

A change of the criminal law

Strict preservation of the independence of judges, extensive possibilities for the area of influence for lawyers, and the far- reaching supervision of lawfulness of the state prosecutor are given special importance.

The Central Committee considers an administrative reform unavoidable.

Inside the party the SED will immediately abolish all special regulations and privileges that are not justified by performances. It suggests that the government do likewise. It recommends that The People's Chamber set up a control commission to monitor the realization of this goal. Information about the work of this commission must be made public.

A state based on the rule of law means protecting citizens and their property, taking action against lawbreakers and violent criminals, resolutely punishing examples of neofascism, and preventing speculation and economic crimes.

Transparency is needed in the work of the protection and security bodies. We suggest that all questions connected with public order and state security be regulated under a new law. A People's Chamber committee should exercise control over the activities of the protection and security bodies.

For the protection of the GDR

The GDR must be in a position to defend itself and maintain armed forces to fulfill its alliance commitments in the Warsaw Pact and its responsibility to a policy of peace.

The Central Committee proposes to discuss and vote on the military doctrine of the GDR after public discussion in the People's Chamber. We are in favor of radical disarmament. If the negotiations in Vienna lead to results, we see the possibility of reducing the personnel strength of the national People's Army further and to cut defense expenditures once again. The Central Committee is in favor of introducing a civilian service that can be chosen instead of military service. Provisions on the border areas are to be examined.

For Comprehensive Information and Freedom of the Media

The Central Committee advocates a far-reaching change in information and media policy.

Openness and subject knowledge, comprehensive and truthful information, critical examination, and constructive experiences are needed by a socialist society. There must be no contradiction between reality and its reflection.

Free media are essential for the socialist democracy. Steady dialogue finds here one of its most important means of expression. The media should articulate with competence and a sense of responsibility toward society a variety of interests and views and promote communication on socialist solutions.

Parties and organizations, the government, and local state organs, enterprises, cooperatives, and other institutions are obliged to inform the public. The media are to be organs of public control.

For a Comprehensive Economic Reform

The situation and perspective of socialism require a fundamental change in economic policy, linked to comprehensive economic reform. It should be directed at steadily improving the means of fulfilling the actual requirements of the population, the national economy, and all of society. Its success cannot be measured with formal indices and falsified growth rates. In the interest of the quality of life in our country it aims at considerably accelerating the pace of scientific-technological renewal and increasing labor productivity and efficiency in the 90's. Our plans for the future must coincide with the country's economic possibilities. What is needed is a balance in economic and social performance. Economic reform is to create the conditions for the relationship between the working class and all the workers and socialist property to be shaped more closely. At stake is a socialist planned economy, guided by market conditions, which offers all those involved in the economic process incentives for economic initiative and high performance.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that the government to be newly formed by the People's Chamber should work out proposals for economic reform and put them up for public discussion.

We are aware of the extent to which economic reform will intervene in the life of our whole society. It will take place in stages and is not a one-time act. The complicated task consists in not endangering at any phase the functioning of the economic mechanism while the changes are taking place. The concept of reform, but also every step of its realization, must therefore be thoroughly considered and requires public discussion and criticism.

The Central Committee underlined the great import of the overall contractual fulfillment of the 1989 plan for the life in our country.

This, at the same time, sets the starting positions for further economic development.

For a Realistic Plan for 1990 That Gives an Orientation Toward High Performance

The Central Committee considers it an urgent requirement that the government make decisions within this month, so that a plan for 1990 can be handed over to the combines, enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions which is costed to a large extent and is realistic. This plan must be directed toward stabilizing our economy.

In it priority should be given to producing consumer goods and spare parts. It is above all a matter of tangibly raising production of fashionable products, high-value technical products as well as other goods particularly in demand. More refined foodstuffs and food products must be produced and made available. The material and technical conditions for the provision of meat, bakery goods, beer, and non-alcoholic drinks must be improved.

Production of important components such as hydraulics, cast and plastic products, fabrics, rolling bearings, and standard parts as well as means of rationalization must be raised. In particular more revolving cranes, forklifts, and other industrial trucks should be produced and made available.

Investment planned for new projects in 1990 should be re-examined. Insufficiently prepared plans and those that are not fully costed should be put back to gain more money for maintenance, modernization, and rationalization.

Construction collectives from the areas working in the capital, Berlin, are to be returned to their construction combines and enterprises. In this the completion and handing over of buildings currently under construction for the further development of capital is to be secured. In the future the areas and districts must be able to dispose of their own capacities.

The maintenance of housing units has priority over modernization and the latter over fresh starts. Any interference in the building repair plans confirmed by local elected bodies must cease. A step-by-step renewal of towns whose housing stock is considerably dilapidated is indispensable.

Measures are to be taken without delay for the protection of the internal market from excessive purchasing by foreign tourists and visitors.

The work of the health and social institutions must be ensured under all circumstances and constantly supported. The health service must be better supplied with materials, medicines, and medical equipment. The maintenance of the assets and the modernization of the basic equipment of many neglected health establishments must be quickly tackled. Local authority initiatives can speed this up.

We agree with the opinion of many working people that elements of the subsidy policy are socially unjust and lead to speculation. Balanced and differentiated measures to change the subsidy policy are necessary, whereby social security must be guaranteed through compensating measures.

With the 1990 plan the reporting of statistics must be radically reduced. Juggling figures must be overcome. The economic and social processes must be realistically demonstrated in the statistics. Information must be made public.

We are in favor of a new pensions law.

Information about the ecological situation of our country must be provided without reservation. New enterprises and plants have to correspond to ecological criteria. Proposals for a reduction of the damage to the environment are to be submitted for those territories that are especially burdened. All efforts made by the citizens for a healthier environment have our support. The state authorities responsible should create the prerequisites for this.

For the unlimited development of the cooperative farms (LPG) and the publicly-owned farms (VEG)

Numerous specific conclusions for agriculture emerge from the economic reform that are linked to the predominance of the cooperative property. The basic principle is the economic independence of the LPGs and the cooperatives. This requires that state plan initial planning targets to be limited to main products, the contractual production to be expanded, the increased application of economic norms and the investments to be organized more for the long term. On this basis the independent disposal of material and financial funds by the cooperative farmers should be guaranteed. A higher degree of responsibility is also required for all publicly owned farms. It is an important matter of concern to aim the specific economic interests of the LPGs, VEGs, the processing enterprises, and the trade institutions consistently at the common goal of better supplies to the population.

A basic improvement of the material-technological conditions, above all in the stables, is considered necessary. On the basis of the strained fodder situation the material prerequisites for balanced plans in livestock farming should be created without delay.

Good supplies as well as a good infrastructure have precedence for the quality of life in the country.

We share the opinion of the VdgB [Association of Cooperative Farmers] that the countrywide representation of the interests of the class of the cooperative farmers has to be given a more distinct profile.

For a Generous Promotion of Trades and Crafts

We are in favor of eliminating obstacles that oppose the performance development of trade and crafts. Pay and bonuses for those employed here, including members of the family likewise employed, the taxation of profits, and price setting should be revised. Improved material-technological preconditions are needed. Performances for the population and exports deserve particular stimulation. A new trades and crafts law should be created to promote the development of additional production and service capacities and to reorganize the position of the chamber of trade and handicrafts.

For Freedom and Responsibility in Culture and the Arts

We need sweeping intellectual renewal for the renewal of socialist society. Needed are a new understanding of the function of culture and the arts and a cultural policy commensurate with the characteristics of the arts that will challenge the creativity of all artists. We appreciate the value of culture at all levels of our society, from the boldest experiments of the arts to the artistically shaped environment of the citizens in towns and villages through sound architecture, through the care of parks and monuments, through well-designed products, through culture of work and everyday life in the enterprises.

We are in favor of artistic freedom and of the own responsibility of the arts and cultural workers, the artistic and cultural institutions. They are essential for reshaping our life. The discussion of differing views on and attitudes toward artistic conceptions and performances should take place in the broad public eye. Tutelage and leading by the nose, administrative interference, and censorship are to be excluded; seeking state permission to publish books and stage plays should be abolished.

Maintaining and expanding the material and technical basis for the further development of the GDR as a literary, theatrical, and musical country as well as for intellectual and cultural life in towns and communities is an urgent necessity. We start from the premise that all interested citizens will collaborate in this.

For the Promotion of and Respect for the Sciences

A place among the first ranks of society is due to science. A concept for developing the sciences is on the agenda. Promoting basic research is to be ordered among the highest priorities with an orientation toward points of emphasis in the process of social reproduction. Economic relations between science and production must be newly regulated to their mutual advantage. Step-by-step modernization of the material and technical basis for science and higher education is urgent required. Bureacratic hindrance and tutelage of both research and academic life, shortsighted economization of science, secretiveness, ignorance displayed toward results of research and recommendations by academics, restrictions on international contacts, and taboos on certain research projects must be eliminated without delay.

The Central Committee calls on social scientists to collaborate critically and constructively in renewal. Results, analyses, and studies by scientists must be thoroughly assessed, publicly discussed, and used in preparing decisions.

We suggest the formation of a People's Chamber science committee. The creation of an institute for opinion polls is recommeneded, on whose findings the public will be informed.

For a Reform of the Education Sector

A reform of the education sector is needed, from public education via vocational training to college and higher education. At the heart is the training of young people who have knowledge and knowhow, and who, as active citizens, realize in a committed, factual, and sincere way their conceptions of life and work in socialism. We propose to revise the education law and put it up for public discussion.

The Central Committee is in favor of: The reshaping of civics, history and German lessons, social science lessons in vocational training, and of the rudimentary study of Marxism-Leninism, the quickest possible creation of conditions to move over to a 5-day school week in the education sector, a sound preparation for higher education, including earlier training at the expanded secondary modern schools, and new vocational opportunities for pupils who leave the polytechnical secondary school prematurely. The creative work of the teaching staff with valid curricula is to be safeguarded.

We favor abolition of military instruction in schools, and changes in the military service preparation of apprentices, civil defense training, and the military training of students. Civil defense should be coordinated with the emergency services.

Examinations and giving marks are to be changed in such a way as to genuinely reflect performances. Administrative rules and habits which restrict the independence and responsibility of the teaching staff are to be removed.

The same is true of the spoon-feeding and tutelage of students. A relationship of trust must exist between teachers and students.

The rights and obligations of students and their representative body must be clearly laid down. Just like teachers, school students, apprentices, and students must have a decisive say in the reform of education.

Life has put the decisive renewal of our party on the agenda. We are self-critically and unsparingly revealing the causes of false developments and the deep crisis of confidence—starting with the Central Committee. By acting in a unified manner, we intend to regain the political offensive.

Our party's ideology is and remains Marxism-Leninism. Its further creative development must not be hindered by any thing or anybody. We do not claim any monopoly on the truth and promote plurality of opinion, tolerance, and a sincere struggle for the best solutions. Marxist-Leninist theory should not be subordinated to current policy. The theoretical and propagandistic work of the party, the party training year in particular, the entire training and further training of comrades must be restructured.

Internal party democracy must be based on the grass roots. The rights of the basic organizations and of all elected executives must be further developed and taken up in the Leninist sense by free, critical, and constructive debate on all party matters. Respect for the productive role of minorities on the one hand, the binding nature of resolutions passed by the majority, and united action in fulfilling party policy on the other, are indispensable aspects of democratic centralism.

promoting the processes of party renewal and guaranteeing its irreversibility must also stand at the heart of the control and auditing work of the party, which must be coordinated. Comrades who were punished because they objected to mistakes and omissions by the party leadership are to be rehabilitated.

Guarantees of the irreversibility of party renewal and a comprehensive democratization are to be created in the life of the party, in the revised statute, in the structures, and in cadre policy. This includes:

—The working out of a new election order and the safeguarding of an electoral practice which excludes any kind of formalism, red tape, and regimentation, and which safeguards democracy from the base to the top. There are to be guarantees for: limitation of the time for exercising electoral functions to a maximum of 10 years (for the general secretary and for first secretaries of area and district executives); fixing an age limit for occupying leading posts; the selection of multiple candidates for management posts; direct elections to selected posts; a significant increase in the proportion of women in elected party organs.

—Priority of party assemblies, party conferences, and elected bodies over their organs and apparatuses. The Politburo and Secretariat are organs of the Central Committee. In order to raise the efficiency and effectiveness of party organs and in application of the performance principle, the full-time party apparatus, starting at central level, is to be restructured and reduced. The unhampered flow of information from the base to the top, and a new quality of topical party news for all comrades are to be implemented at once.

—A proposal will be put forward to the party conference on amalgamating the periodicals EINHEIT and NEUER WEG.

—The securing of the collective formation of will, the collectivity of all party executives, their accountability and examination, the reconstructibility of decision-making processes, and sufficient openness of party life. Internal party life is not part of working hours.

—The reworking of a new guideline on contributions by 15 December, 1989, with the aim of reducing contributions in a differentiated manner and minimizing the technical and organizational effort in collecting monthly dues. The obligation for dues on incomes paid annually is dropped with immediate effect.

It is necessary to disengage party and state. Administrative interference in the affairs of state and economy must stop. We support a productive mutual relationship between science and politics.

A statute commission of the Central Committee will be formed to prepare a draft of a new party statute which will be put up for debate and presented to the party congress.

For Self-Confident Youth

The party's new youth policy must contribute to young and self- confident citizens growing up who actively support a modern socialism in their homeland. We consider it necessary to expand the rights of all strata of youth to collaborate and have their interests represented in state and society and support the proposal by the FDJ [Free German Youth] to work out a new youth law in public debate and discussion.

The SED supports the FDJ in a comradely manner without interfering in its internal affairs. We help our members and candidate members in taking up their particular responsibility for political work with young people, particularly in the ranks of the FDJ.

For the Free Development of Women

In the future far more attention is to be paid to the personal development of women. It is a matter of taking the specific development of women and the compatability of work and parenthood into account as well as a higher proportion of women in leading functions. Female comrades in the Democratic Women's League should support a basic renewal of the women's organization in this sense. We propose forming a portfolio for women in the government, a committee on women's affairs in the People's Chamber, as well as standing commissions on women's affairs in the area and district governments.

For Free and Independent Trade Unions

The party respects the fact that the united Free German Trade Union Federation committedly and independently represents and promotes the individual and collective interests of working people in renewing socialism. Free and independent trade unions as an instrument of democratic counter-control in the best Leninist sense are a comprehensive mass basis for socialist democracy. Comrades in the industrial trade unions and trade unions should actively support the fulfillment of working people's economic, social, and political interests as well as good living and working conditions for them.

For a Concept of Modern Socialism

The Central Committee deems it necessary to work out and put up for discussion a strategic concept for the fundamental renewal of socialism in the nineties. A working group of the Central Committee is to be set up which will submit the draft of this concept to the Central Committee in early 1990. It will be charged with analyzing the proposals of party organizations, friendly parties, organizations, associations and citizens' initiatives, scientists, scientific institutions and bodies, and will include competent personages directly in their work. Public discussion is to be conducted as a broad, democratic dialogue which will also invite objections and alternative proposals. The concept and the results of the discussion will form the basis of the new SED program.

The Central Committee addresses itself with this action program to all comrades.

We believe that our militant alliance can communicate and unite on this basis to tackle the work.

We ask the working class, cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia, and all people to examine our proposals and to walk with us the way of change [wende].

It is in everybody's interest that socialist renewal succeed.

Once again everybody can participate in revolutionary restructuring in our country.

Everybody is needed; everybody helps to decide his own fate, the fate of his family, and that of our country.

People's Chamber Elects Presidium in Open Ballot

LD1311141589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1342 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber today elected the Presidium of the People's Chamber in an open ballot. The deputy president of the People's Chamber is Dr Werner Jarowinsky, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] group. He was elected with the other members of the Presidium, who were also proposed by the groups in an open ballot.

The other members of the Presidium are: Dr Kaethe Niederkirchner (SED), Michale Koplanski (Democratic Peasants Party), Wolfgang Heyl (Christian Democratic Union), Hans-Dieter Raspe (Liberal Democratic Party), Guenter Hartmann (National Democratic Party), Christel Bednareck (Free German TU Federation), Eva Rohman (Democratic Women's League), Cornelia Wolfram (Free German Youth), Prof Dr Karl- Heinz Schulmeister (League of Culture), Manfred Scheler (Peasants Mutual Aid Association), and Heinz Eichler, secretary of the Council of State.

Before the ballot, People's Chamber President Dr Guenther Maleuda expressed his thanks for the trust granted him and took on the chairing of the session.

Maleuda New President

LD1311121489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1207 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Guenther Maleuda (58) was elected on Monday as the new president of the GDR People's Chamber.

Maleuda was nominated for this office by the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany (DBD). He succeeds Horst Sindermann (Socialist Unity Party of Germany).

The decision in favor of Maleuda was taken in a final ballot between the candidate of the DBD and of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany after none of the five candidates in the first ballot obtained the necessary 50 percent or more of votes cast.

Runoff Held

LD1311105589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1046 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A final ballot is needed in the GDR People's Chamber for the election of a new president. The candidates are Dr Guenther Maleuda (Democratic Peasants Party) and Prof Manfred Gerlach (Liberal Democratic Party). None of the five candidates was able to obtain the necessary majority of votes from the 478 deputies present.

Vote for President

LD1311113389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1059 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—A final ballot is necessary for the election of a new president of the GDR People's Chamber. Dr Guenther Maleuda and Prof Mandred Gerlach are up for nomination.

None of the five candidates in the People's Chamber achieved the necessary majority of votes of the 478 deputies present this morning.

In the first round in the People's Chamber Dr Guenther Maleuda (German Peasants Party) received 185 votes, Prof Manfred Gerlach (Liberal Democratic Party of Germany) 111 votes, Christine Wieynk (Christian Democratic Union) 62 votes, Prof Manfred Muehlmann (National Democratic Party of Germany) 61 votes, and Prof Guenther Drefahl (league of culture) 52 votes.

There were five invalid votes; one deputy did not avail himself of his right to vote.

The People's Chamber must secure a majority of votes in taking its decisions. In the secret ballot the candidate who receives more than 50 percent of the votes cast is thus elected. If none of the candidates receives that majority, a final ballot takes place between the two leading candidates, again in a secret ballot. In the second ballot each deputy is committed, after agreement among the parliamentary groups yesterday, to vote for one candidate. Abstentions or invalid votes are not permitted. [passage omitted]

Leadership Resigns

LD1311095389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0933 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, his deputy, Gerald Goetting, and the members of the Presidium of the GDR's supreme people's representation, have resigned. Hans Jendretzky, second oldest deputy of the house, announced this at the beginning of the 11th session.

Jendretzy will lead the session until the election of the new president. He was born on 20 July 1897.

Chamber To Convene

LD0911161989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1549 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber Presidium decided on Thursday to convene the parliament for Monday 13 November.

In a statement from the press office at the People's Chamber to ADN it says:

The critical discussion dealt with applications by parliamentary groups before the Presidium to convene a plenary session over the weekend. In order to give the Democratic Block and the parliamentary groups the opportunity before the meeting to discuss and form objectives, it was decided to convene the 11th meeting of the People's Chamber on Monday, 13 November 1989.

The Presidium proposes to deal with the following points:

1. Dismissal of the president of the GDR People's Chamber.
2. Election of the president of the GDR People's Chamber.
3. Dismissal and election of the deputy president and members of the Presidium.
4. Discussion of the political situation in the German Democratic Republic.
5. Dismissal of the chairman and members of the GDR Council of Ministers.
6. Election of the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.
7. Commissioning the formation of a government and convening the 12th meeting of the People's Chamber.

People's Chamber Groups Discuss Plenum

LD1211205689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1858 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The 10 groups of the GDR People's chamber met at the weekend in closed sessions. The deputies who belong to the groups of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the Democratic Peasant Party of Germany [DBD], the Christian Democratic Union [CDU], the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB], the Democratic Women's League of Germany [DFD], the Free German Youth [FDJ], the Cultural League, and the Peasants Mutual Aid Association [VDGB], discussed their viewpoints on the contents and course of the 11th plenum of the highest representative body of the peoples, convened for Monday, which will deal mainly with the election of the president, his deputy, and the presidium of the People's Chamber, with the situation in the GDR, as well as with the election of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

A lively and critical discussion on parliamentary work was held in the SED group. Dr Klaus Sorgenicht, deputy chairman of the group, told ADN that the current chairman, Erich Mueckenberger, had resigned from his position. Werner Jarowinsky, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, was elected chairman of the SED group. [passage omitted]

The FDJ group commenced its deliberations already on Saturday and continued them on Sunday. After extensive discussions it elected the present deputy group chairman, Lutz Ahnfeld, shift foreman at the Ribnitz-Damgarten furniture combine, as its new chairman. Jochen Willerding, the outgoing chairman, had asked to be relieved because of his new function as secretary of the SED Central Committee. [passage omitted]

10th SED CC Plenary Session Held

Schabowski Briefs Press

LD0911213189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1911 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This evening Politburo Member Guenter Schabowski briefed the international press on the results of the 2d day of the 10th Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee plenary session in Berlin.

Speaking to more than 200 journalists, he said the day was characterized by intense discussion of the report by Egon Krenz and of the SED's program of action. So far, 16 speakers from all areas of the party and all walks of life have addressed the plenary session. This is an expression of a great need to express themselves on issues of party renewal, Schabowski stated.

In response to a question on whether he felt like the "patron of the mass media," Guenter Schabowski said the GDR has a developed media landscape in which the political parties are responsible for the papers they publish. In clear contradiction to previous practice, he placed value on a comradely style of mutual consultation and information to mutual advantage. There will be no more ordering about or spoon-feeding.

Soviet radio asked what role the CPSU's experience with regard to the policy of perestroyka had played during the debate. Schabowski answered that the background of thought for the whole discussion had been decisively based on this. One of the reasons which has led to the party's difficulties today lay in the fact that it has failed to recognize the great significance of the process of restructuring in the Soviet Union which began in 1985.

There was a question on the "new women" and their employment in responsible positions. Guenter Schabowski said: "We also need a renewal of our thinking about women in the GDR, including renewal in the highest functions." Helga Labs, chairman of the Education and Science Trade Union, who shared the platform with Schabowski, along with Prof Manfred Banaschak, editor in chief of the periodical EINHEIT, and Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil, added that there are many capable women in leading functions who could also be employed in the highest functions with a little more courage.

Gerhard Beil said of Hans Modrow's proposals for step-by-step economic reforms that Modrow had already provided glimpses of the shape of a kind of government statement at the plenary session. He stressed that at first it is a matter of simplifying all central state planning and management, and removing over-centralization. Room for producers to maneuver should also be extended. Part of the reform is putting the socialist work performance principle into practice. "Of course, part of this economic reform, and now I must speak here as foreign trade minister, is of course bringing the GDR more into the world economy."

CC Session Begins 3d Day

LD1011092189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0810 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 10th SED Central Committee session continued today at 0900 today in Berlin. In the course of the day the highest Socialist Unity Party of Germany forum between the party congresses is to conclude its 3-day session.

The plenary session is continuing its discussion, begun yesterday, on an action program of the party and on General Secretary Egon Krenz's report.

Boehme, Others Released

LD1011110189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1046 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This morning the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee unanimously acceded to the requests of Hans-Joachim Boehme, Johannes Chemnitzer, Inge Lange, and Werner Walde to be released from their posts as Central Committee Politburo members and candidate members, ADN has been informed. The plenum elected Helmut Semmelmann, hitherto head of the Central Committee agriculture department, as secretary of the Central Committee, with one opposing vote.

Schuerer on Reform

LD1011154689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1439 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At today's 10th SED Central Committee session Politburo Member Gerhard Schuerer spoke about the possible content of comprehensive economic reform. He said that such reform could only be successful if it is a firm component of change in the whole policy of the country's democratic development and also of the party renewal. Here it is not primarily a matter of changing method but of changing content. This means: "Overcoming the disproportions between final production and the supply industry and between disposable income and total available commodities, ensuring real accounting together with the highest economy of materials, dispensing with large new investments, emphasizing modernization and rationalization, and solving the urgent supply questions."

Bureaucracy and overcentralization, the mass of central statistics, are leading by the nose the people responsible for those processes for which the greatest authority and greatest knowledge is in the combines. What is necessary, Schuerer said, is a limiting of reporting to the center and the guarantee that it contains the truth.

He called for balanced economic performance, an effective structure, priorities in science and technology and planned proportional development. But one can not dispense entirely with central statistics and state commissions. In the present economic situation everything possible should be done, but also nothing should be promised that is not possible at the present time. Gerhard Schuerer emphasized the urgency of a clear distinction between immediate and longer-term measures.

Schabowski on Media Freedom

LD1011180789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Mature citizens and mature journalists are mutually dependent under socialist renewal, Politburo member Guenter Schabowski said at the 10th session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, which ended today. A considerable insight gained from reconstruction in the Soviet Union is: the more socialist democracy, the more socialism. Hitherto, the political system in the GDR has not offered the necessary scope for this. The mature citizen stands in the center of socialist democracy; his maturity signifies ability to act for socialism and for the well-being of everyone. It is based on solid knowledge about social processes and events, on possibilities for the public dissemination of what is general knowledge. So that the social development of informed opinion and decision-making processes take a correct course, it is necessary to have media with a high quality of information. The media law which has been tackled serves this purpose.

Never again should the journalists be treated "as if they are politically still in their diapers, and who only move when they are given a political feeding bottle." The fatal consequences of this are a glossed-over type of journalism and also a journalism of waiting, which left the domination of the political airspace to the media of the opposing side. The task of the appropriate sphere of responsibility of the Central Committee must be to "cut the cord of the lack of independence and lack of maturity to the editorial offices and to replace it with relations that amount to political capability." It is not the withholding of responsibility but its conveying to party journalists that will guarantee its capability to firmly set out the party line for the daily struggle.

"I would like to propose," Schabowski said, "to name the department in a way that better reflects today's requirements. The concept of agitation seems to me not to offer enough room for maneuver." He was thinking of a name such as "information politics and media." In place of instructions, administration, and detailed spoon-feeding, a creative and responsible action by the comrade journalists is starting on the basis of the party resolutions. "Political gaps of confidence and gaps in creativity" in the editorial offices should be filled in step by step.

It is true that in the past several journalists often tried to break through honestly to a consciousness of the realities. "They were seriously bruised by the cast-iron prohibited signs of the Agitation Department." In all fairness, it should be noted that comrades in the department, who now are having the whole flood of anger and criticism poured on them on account of a misguided media policy, tried in vain to allow a different direction to come into the media landscape.

The section of the action program devoted to this concept should be headed accurately and aptly: for extensive freedom of information and the media. In a renewed socialist society media freedom must be the public right of communication of the various social groups on the basis of the socialist Constitution.

Session Ends

LD1011142489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1343 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—With the endorsement of a communique, the 10th SED Central Committee session ended in Berlin today after 3 days of consultations.

CC Communique

LD1011143189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1343 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the end of the 10th meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee the following communique was endorsed:

From 8 to 10 November the 10th meeting of the SED Central Committee was held in Berlin. At the start of the meeting, Comrade Egon Krenz announced the resignation of the existing Politburo, which accepted full resonsibility for the situation that had arisen. This proposal was unanimously accepted by the Central Committee.

In the election which then followed, a new Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat were elected with individual voting for the proposed candidates.

During the discussion at the 10th SED meeting, decisions by SED area executives on, and objections to, some newly elected members and candidates members of the Politburo were made known, which led to the proposal to relieve Comrades Hans-Joachim Boehme, Johannes Chamnitzer, Werner Walde, and Inge Lange of their functions.

The Central Committee confirmed Comrade Egon Krenz in his function as general secretary of the Central Committee.

In accordance with the decision of the 10th SED Central Committee meeting the SED Central Committee Politburo consists of the following members: Comrades Werner Eberlein, Wolfgang Herger, Werner Jarowinsky, Heinz Kessler, Siegfried Lorenz, Hans Modrow, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Guenter Schabowski, and Gerhard Schuerer.

Comrades Margarete Mueller, Guenter Sieber, and Hans-Joachim Willerding were elected candidate members of the Politburo.

The Central Committee elected Comrades Wolfgang Herger, Siegfried Lorenz, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, Guenter Schabowski, Helmut Semmelmann, Guenter Sieber, and Hans-Joachim Willerding as secretaries of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee elected Comrade Klaus Hoepcke as chairman of the Politburo Cultural Commission and Comrade Prof Dr Gregor Schirmer as chairman of the Politburo Science and Education Commission.

The Central Committee decided to recommend Comrade Hans Modrow for nomination as chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers in the reformation of the government.

In line with Article 14 of the party statute, Comrade Guenter Mittag has been expelled from the Central Committee for gross violations of internal party democracy, and of party and state discipline, and damaging the standing of the party. Comrade Joachim Herrmann was also expelled from the Central Committee.

The Central Committee has instructed the Central Party Control Commission to investigate the behavior and shortcomings of Comrade Guenter Mittag and to introduce relevant measures against other comrades who have violated the party statute.

The Central Committee instructed the Politburo to form a commission to investigate the causes and personal responsibilities for the current economic situation in the GDR.

In a speech, Comrade Egon Krenz formulated the party's tasks in the renewal of the party and of socialism in the GDR. He analyzed the causes leading to the current political crisis in the GDR and gave guarantees for ruling out once and for all erroneous developments such as those of the past. Comrade Krenz accounted for the draft of an SED action program, which was set out to the Central Committee for discussion and decisionmaking.

The Central Committee elected an editorial commission which prepared the draft, based on the report of Comrade Egon Krenz, the many ideas and proposals from members of the Central Committee, and the words of thousands of comrades and non-party citizens in our country to the Central Committee, which was confirmed by the Central Committee.

The report and the action program function as a foundation for the preparation of the 4th party conference, which was convened for 15 to 17 December 1989 in Berlin.

In connection with this, the Central Committee formed working groups from members of the Central Committee and other comrades for working out analyses and proposals for the preparation of the 4th party conference and the 12th party congress.

In the discussion, 25 comrades spoke. A further 68 requests to speak were made. All names of comrades who requested to speak will be published in the press.

The contributions will be published in a pamphlet.

The Central Committee expressed its thanks to all members of the party and non-party citizens for the numerous letters and petitions which reached the Central Committee in these days and by means of which the concern about the further prospering of socialism in the GDR and readiness to cooperate actively were expressed.

Krenz, Modrow Meet With Party Leaders

LD1011172989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1625 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Immediately after the ending of the 10th meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee, the parties cooperating in the Central Democratic Block met. According to a report, the meeting was attended for the SED by Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and by Politburo member Hans Modrow. The Democratic Peasants Party of Germany was represented by its chairman, Dr Guenther Maleuda, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany by its chairman, Prof Manfred Gerlack, and the national Democratic Party of Germany by its chairman, Guenter Hartmann. Rainer Viererbe, department head in the Secretariat of the party's Main Executive Committee took part for this Christian Democratic Union.

Egon Krenz and Hans Modrow spoke about the contents and course of the 10th Meeting of the SED Central Committee and the basic direction of the action program of the SED adopted for the renewal of socialism in the GDR.

A theme of the joint consultation was also the new regulations for travel to the FRG and West Berlin issued at short notice by the Interior Ministry. There was an extensive exchange of views on the meeting of the GDR People's Chamber set for this coming Monday.

New Politburo Member Supports Coalition

LD1111151189 Hamburg DPA in German 1350 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—Wolfgang Herger, the new Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo member, supports the idea of "forming a coalition government or a grand coalition government in which our party, other parties, and the most diverse social forces are represented." in his speech at the 10th Central Committee session, published in the SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today, The Central Committee secretary responsible for security policy argued that it will be seen in dialogue and in the solution of specific tasks "who is our political partner and who is our political opponent or who is simply a demagogue."

He believes there are limits. "Whoever opposes the interests of the overwhelming majority of our people and a better socialism or even toys with the overthrow of our social order and the restoration of capitalism cannot expect to be supported by us."

Herger said the crisis in the GDR was due to harboring for too long an illusion that a "necessary renewal of socialism in the GDR was possible with Comrade Erich Honecker and other comrades of the previous Politburo." The decisive mistake was that they had always uppermost in their minds the "specter of the splitting of the party." [passage omitted]

SED Members Discuss CC Plenum at Rallies

LD1111135389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1236 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Today Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] members gathered in several GDR bezirk towns for rallies and spoke, at times controversially, about the results of the 10th SED Central Committee plenum which ended yesterday. But they also emphasized their support for far-reaching reforms in the country.

In Neubrandenburg about 2,000 workers, cooperative farmers, doctors, schoolchildren, and veterans met. "The hour to prove ourselves has come," said Guenter Mehlorn, of the Sirokko instrument factory, to applause. The members of his basic organization want to work in the change and help win back the citizens' trust. Some speakers spoke in favor of a special party congress. Criticism was directed at personnel decisions from the latest plenum. A new election of the kreis and area executive is called for.

In Frankfurt, the most common demands were to convene a special party congress, to revise the party statutes, and to create the possibility for renewal through free elections. The SED's right to leadership had to be won daily through hard work, Professor Joerg Osten, of the Institute for Semiconductor Physics, said. [passage omitted]

SED Politburo Proposes Extraordinary Congress

LD1211141289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1357 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] decided at this afternoon's session to propose to the Central Committee that the planned party conference be changed to an extraordinary party congress. The Central Committee will meet tomorrow evening to discuss this proposal.

Immediately after the Politburo session, which took place in one of the rooms in the People's Chamber building, Egon Krenz justified this decision to journalists. He had used the weekend to work through the many letters from party collectives which had reached him over the past few days. He had also been very impressed by the Berlin party organization's rally Friday evening.

For this reason he had put forward the proposal to the Politburo to change the planned party conference into an extraordinary party congress. Of course, such a decision could not be taken by the Politburo. It had to be presented to a session of the SED Central Committee.

The Politburo had decided to convene this meeting of the Central Committee for Monday evening. In reply to a relevant question the general secretary said that the dates of 15-17 December are still valid.

Krenz Statement on Congress Proposal

LD1211161589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1506 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee [CC] Politburo decided at a session today in Berlin to propose to the Central Committee the changing of the party conference, agreed on for the middle of December, into an extraordinary party congress. Immediately after the Politburo session, SED General Secretary Egon Krenz gave the following statement to journalists in the building of the GDR People's Chamber:

"I used the weekend to go through the many letters that I have received from basic organizations from my party, and from kreis and bezirk executives. In addition, I was impressed by the great Berlin rally of the our capital's Communists. Therefore, I proposed to the Central Committee Politburo that we change the party conference we have agreed on into an extraordinary party congress.

"Of course, such a decision cannot be made by the Politburo. It has to be presented at a session of our party's Central Committee. So we have just resolved to convene this session of our party's Central Committee for tomorrow evening.

"What it is a question of: Above all, it is a question of the members of my party expressing that our program of renewal is a program of real radical reforms, a program of the renewal of socialism. For this one needs a Central

Committee that can bear complete responsibility and enjoys complete trust. It is exactly this that we wish to face up to with the extraordinary party congress.

"I am convinced that with this we are in accordance with the wishes and the will of the party, for a renewal of socialism is only possible with a united party which acts in a unified way. I think that this proposal of the Politburo will be discussed by the Central Committee.

"What the decision will be I do not know, but I assume that a decision will be made in the spirit of unity and cohesion of behavior of our country's Communists, from the basic organizations up to the Central Committee. I am firmly convinced that the Communists of our country not only have the strength for this but are also capable of it. And we will implement this program of the renwal of socialism on German soil."

In reply to a question as to the date of the special party congress, Egon Krenz replied that as far as the Politburo's proposal was concerned, they wished to change the party conference into an extraordinary party congress. Therefore, according to the Politburo, the date and procedure would not be changed from what had been planned for the party conference. "The new circumstance is in the fact that the extraordinary party congress can elect a new Central Committee," the general secretary explained.

Prosecutor Proposes Corruption Investigation

LD1011111889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0950 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR state prosecutor, Guenter Wendland, today proposed the setting up of a temporary GDR People's Chamber committee to investigate cases of corruption and misuse of office. This emerges from an announcement by the press office of the state prosecutor, which has been referred to ADN.

In a letter to the People's Chamber Presidium, the state prosecutor's office refers to the increasing receipt of petitions in which citizens and collectives raise serious charges of misuse of office and corruption against functionaries at all levels.

"Named persons are charged with privileges, personal enrichment, unjustified granting of benefits, or squandering of public property. Various petitioners demand the setting up of an independent investigatory committee. In view of the great political significance of the expected scope of the necessary investigations and the justified interest of the public in the latter, I propose the establishment of a temporary GDR People's Chamber committee on the basis of Article 61 of the GDR Constitution which will exercise, in close collaboration with the electorate, supervision and control over the investigations," the letter adds.

Moreover, a further reason for the proposal is "that it is likely to be necessary to reach decisions on the rights of immunity of some deputies in the People's Chamber in line with Article 60, paragraph 2 of the Constitution."

It also has to be considered that petitions on corruption and misuse of office are being addressed to other state and public bodies which must be included in the investigations. It will be necessary to temporarily concentrate the work of forces from investigatory and control bodies of various spheres on this work in order to achieve results within an appropriate time. The state prosecutor's office is ready to participate in this within the framework of the tasks assigned to it by law.

2 SED Party Leaders 'Commit Suicide'

AU0911101189 Hamburg BILD in German 9 Nov 89 p 3

[Richard Voelkel report: "Two SED Chiefs Shoot Themselves"]

[Text] East Berlin—Most functionaries of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] cannot accept the changes in the GDR. Two party leaders have drawn the ultimate consequence from the mass exodus and loss of power: They committed suicide by shooting themselves in the head.

The more prominent of these is Helmut Mieth (57), SED chief of Bautzen, the city with the infamous prison for political prisoners.

Mietch came under great pressure with the first "Citizens' Forum" in the main hall of the Stadthotel at the end of October. The 1,000 participants jeered, criticized his style of work, and shouted: "Tear down the Bautzen torture chamber!" Said one participant: "Mieth left the meeting as white as a sheet."

Well-informed circles report that 3 days after the protest meeting the SED chief killed himself in his city villa with a Soviet "Makarov" gun.

Since it was a suicide it was kept secret. SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG only wrote: He died "suddenly and unexpectedly." His body was cremated.

Friends of his said: "He was most seriously disturbed by the accusations about the inhuman conditions in Bautzen prison." It has cells which are only 6 square meters large, forced labor. The well-known dissident Rudolf Bahro was imprisoned there.

For weeks things had been fermenting among the inhabitants because of Bautzen. Mysterious discoveries of graves on the territory of the city strengthened the suspicion that prisoners had been secretly executed and buried.

The second dead man was Gerhard Uhe, SED first secretary of the GDR city of Perleberg near Schwerin. Like Mieth, he was one of Honecker's followers. He, too, killed himself at home; he, too, used his service gun. It was said: "The great psychological pressure because of the current political events made him take this step."

Psychologist Horst Siewert (41) of Reutlingen says: "The men felt as though they were in the fuehrer's bunker under the Reich's Chancellery, where many of Hitler's followers committed suicide in the end."

Walde Dismissed as Cottbus Party Chief

LD0911185889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1813 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—As was announced, the Cottbus Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] area executive has released Werner Walde, candidate member of the SED Politburo, from his function as first secretary and member of the area executive. It is thereby complying with a motion by Werner Walde.

Lawyer De Maiziere Elected CDU Chairman

LD1011151689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1437 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] main executive elected lawyer Lothar de Maiziere as the new party chairman today. He received 92 of the 118 votes cast. [passage omitted]

Since the early 1980s, De Maiziere has worked together with the Consistory of the Evangelical Church in Berlin-Brandenberg in providing legal representation for youths standing trial for refusing to do military service or participting in actions such as "Swords Into Plowshares." [passage omitted]

At the constituent session of the synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, Lothar de Maziere was elected vice president of the synod in 1986. He has been a member of the church questions working group of the CDU main executive since 1986.

Erfurt Chief Mayor Resigns Post 10 Nov

LD1011164189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1622 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Efurt (ADN)—Rosemarie Seibert, the chief mayor of Erfurt, resigned on Friday.

At a meeting of the SED Municipal Management Secretariat this morning she said that she no longer feels capable of coping with the present tasks.

Claus Elected New Halle Party Chief

LD1111145589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1419 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Halle (ADN)—The Halle SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Area Executive today elected Roland Claus the new first secretary of the SED Area Executive. There was one abstention.

He is 34 years old and was previously a member of the office and a department head in the FDJ [Free German Youth] Central Council.

Entire Rostock SED Area Executive Resigns

LD1211201789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2003 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—The Secretariat of the Rostock Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Area (Bezirk) Executive resigned en bloc today. The Rostock Area Executive met this evening at short notice.

The 41-year-old Ulrich Peck was elected first secretary of the Area Executive. Hitherto he was first secretary of the SED City Executive. An ad hoc secretariat was formed for the period up to the next delegates conference.

Magdeburg SED Elects New Officials

LD1211145189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1420 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Magdeburg (ADN)—On Sunday the Socialist Unity of Party of Germany [SED] Magdeburg Area executive unanimously elected Wolfgang Pohl to be its new first secretary. Prior to this, thanks were expressed to his predecessor, Politburo member Werner Eberlein, with best wishes for his new responsible work. Also newly elected were the second secretary Holger Michaelis, and Secretaries Bernd Faust (industry) and Professor Dr Peter Hinze (Agitation and propaganda). The area executive discussed current tasks following the 10th SED Central Committee meeting, and the political and economic situation in the area. [passage omitted]

Krenz, Rau Hold Talks; Answer Questions

LD0911171889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After their one-hour talk Egon Krenz and Johannes Rau answered questions from GDR and foreign journalists at the official seat of the State Council.

Asked whether they had discussed the travel law, Johannes Rau said: "naturally." Egon Krenz tersely answered the additional question regarding what role this subject had played, by saying: "a big role." He explained that after a discussion in the country the People's Chamber is to adopt a corresponding law. He had been asked whether the draft law was imperfect. "If I had thought that it was perfect we need not have brought it up for discussion. I would say that the population will complete it.

Asked whether they had discussed a German-German bank, Johannes Rau answered that they had discussed questions affecting intra-German cooperation, including the financing of travel possibilities. Naturally they were unable to discuss any models in this brief talk, they would continue to make proposals and receive them. The talks would continue.

The prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia stated that the problem of joint enterprises had been discussed. He referred to very strong interest on the part of industrialists in North Rhine- Westphalia. They could however only discuss specifics when the talks agreed between the general secretary and the federal chancellor have taken place. He said he thought North Rhine- Westphalia had special possibilities in this report.

A further question was aimed at elections in the GDR. He had proposed a new electoral law to the SED Central Committee, said Egon Krenz. They would proceed in this spirit, everything had to be prepared. The parliament had to decide on this in the final instance. "The people who talk about democracy must give me the opportunity to practice democracy." He had mentioned a series of laws before the Central Committee plenum, which must now be elaborated and serve the further shaping of a socialist state under the rule of law.

Statement on Talks

LD0911181189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1610 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz and Johannes Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], today held and open exchange of thoughts at the Council of State building in Berlin. They touched on the responsibility of both sides for shaping relations between the GDR and the FRG, and for securing peace. This emerges from a statement released to ADN.

Johannes Rau, who will today open the "Presentation of Art and Culture from North Rhine-Westphalia" in Leipzig, thanked Egon Krenz for making these talks, which he had requested, possible during the current Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee session, and in which GDR Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann took part.

Egon Krenz briefed his guest on the current 10th session of the Central Committee. The plenary session will undertake a realistic assessment of the situation, debate and pass a program of action which will contain necessary and committed steps for renewal in politics, the economy, and society. The aim of the renewal is, starting from the interests and needs of the people, to make socialism more attractive and worth participating in for every citizen. An SED party conference called for December will also serve this end.

The political change in the GDR is a matter of far-reaching reforms in all spheres of society. In this it is a matter of a socialism which is economically efficient, politically democratic, morally pure, and tuned toward people. The SED's course of renewal reflects the fact that no one, apart from the people themselves, the sovereign power in the GDR, may determine how socialism in the GDR is to be fashioned. The debate started in the Central Committee clearly shows that the internal political dialogue is bringing good creative potential to light.

Touching on relations between the GDR and the FRG, Egon Krenz stressed the common responsibility of both German states for peace, for cooperative collaboration, and for goodneighborliness. The stability of German-German state relations is a strong element of pan-European relations. In the interests of a European peace order, war and fascism should never again emanate from German soil.

A precondition for the two German states treating each other sensibly is that each should respect the sovereign rights of the other. Each of the two states bears responsibility for its people, its citizens, and its territory. Appropriations of blame and attempts to interfere, by whoever and under whatever guise, are not good advisors in complicated times.

The insistence on a duty to care for all Germans is in contradiction of the right to determine one's own choice of social order, to which the GDR has as much a right as the FRG. Normality and equality in relations between the two states and mutual accommodations on the basis of existing treaties could be an important step toward a Common European Home.

Johannes Rau expressed the view that the latest developments in the GDR are not just being followed with interest in North Rhine-Westphalia. He agreed that today continuity and the expansion of the policy of concluding treaties are required more than ever in order to develop a close relationship of confidence and cooperation which serves the well-being of citizens between the two German states. The state government of North Rhine-Westphalia is open to any suggestions aimed at improving neighborliness.

He believes that the GDR's new leadership is serious about reform. That should be noted in both German states.

Taking part in the meeting from the FRG side were Prof Friedhelm Fahrtmann, chairman of the SPD group in the State Diet; State Secretary Wolfgang Clement; and Dr. Franz Bertele, head of the FRG's permanent mission to the GDR.

Speaking to journalists in the international press center, Prime Minister Johannes Rau described his talk with Egon Krenz as frank and direct. The talk was without sharpness, but it was also in no way unclear. The subject of the talk was, naturally, developments in the GDR.

Rau said it was not his business to quote the general secretary beyond what he had said in his speech yesterday, nor to interpret him. His impression was that in the wake of the latest changes the general secretary was thinking of a stronger division of responsibilities between government and party.

Main Television News Show Interviews Kohl

LD1011201789 Hamburg DPA in German 1934 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl spoke on current developments this evening in the GDR television main news program. It was the first time that the Bonn head of government has given an interview to East Berlin television. Kohl spoke of a "wonderful thing." This was a hope that he had had for a long time. He cited the opening up of the frontiers as an "urgently necessary decision." At the same time, he emphasized that it is not the aim of the Federal Republic for many GDR citizens to leave their country but for them to find their happiness in their ancestral homeland.

Krenz, Kohl Exchange Views by Telephone

LD1111095889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0947 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the State Council, and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl exchanged views on current questions concerning relations between the GDR and FRG by telephone today.

It has been reported that developing travel, expanding economic relations and other questions of practical cooperation between the two German states were the dominant themes.

Further on Conversation

LD1111143689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1326 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The focal point of a telephone conversation that Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl conducted this morning was further cooperation steps between the GDR and FRG.

During the intensive exchange of opinion, Federal Chancellor Kohl welcomed the regulations in tourist traffic that the GDR brought into force. From his point of view, they would further develop relations between the two German states.

Egon Krenz emphasized that the measures were taken as the full sovereign decision of the GDR. They are an expression of the policy of renewal in the GDR, the focal point of which is the interests of the people.

The general secretary referred to the fact that objectivity, predictability, and goodwill on both sides are necessary. He emphasized that the travel regulations made by the GDR are a prior concession. The FRG can study how it can support these decisions, which are in the interests of the people. Making the borders more open in no way calls into question the validity of existing borders. Stability in the relations between the two German states remains a decisive prerequisite for stability on the European continent.

Egon Krenz agreed with Federal Chancellor Kohl's observation that now every type of radicalization has to be excluded. The general secretary emphasized that it is dangerous at the very border between the GDR and the FRG and to West Berlin. It is a requirement of reason to clear up questions, which emerged from all sides involved, in a level-headed way and with joint responsibility. Krenz stressed that it is in the interests of the sides involved to check the emotions which had broken out to dispel illusions with certain people.

The federal chancellor suggested the possibility of a personal meeting with Egon Krenz in the GDR. Egon Krenz expressed his agreement.

In the course of the telephone conversation, Krenz went on to stress that reunification is not on the agenda. Federal Chancellor Kohl, who cited the FRG's basic law, underlined the necessity of discussing joint practical steps in a business-like atmosphere. He suggested that Federal Minister Rudolf Seiters come to Berlin on 20 November for talks. Egon Krenz agreed to this.

The general secretary and the federal chancellor stressed the interest of both sides in further forms of cooperation. Egon Krenz pointed particularly to the areas of the economy, environmental protection, transport, posts and telecommunications, culture, and the humanitarian field.

Finally, the general secretary wished the federal chancellor, who will continue his visit to the People's Republic of Poland this afternoon, a good conclusion to his talks. He asked him to convey his personal greetings to representatives of the eastern neighbor, which is closely allied with the GDR.

Krenz Says Reunification 'Not Up for Debate'

LD1111141889 Hamburg DPA in German 1351 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In the words of GDR state and party leader Egon Krenz, reunification is not up for discussion. In an interview on Aktuelle Kamera [GDR TV main news program], today, Krenz said that matters not up for debate should not be put on the agenda now. "Reunification is not up for debate."

In a telephone conversation with him, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl referred to the text of the [FRG] Basic Law. That was his business. "My business as GDR representative is to underline that two completely sovereign German states exist which must get along well with each other." He would devote himself fully in order that this may better come about, but always in the interests of the GDR, Krenz said.

West Berlin Mayor Comments on Reforms

LD1211142289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1343 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In an interview with GDR radio today, Walter Momper, governing mayor of Berlin (West) said that in his opinion the path of renewal and reform was being used well. However, because of the new travel regulations political developments in the GDR had been pushed into the background somewhat, and therefore some good results of the Central Committee session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany were receiving too little attention.

Now that free elections under social control have been decided upon, he was of the opinion that some other important plans still must penetrate the consciousness of the population in the GDR, and in West Berlin as well. At the moment, however, the travelling—800,00 visitors to West Berlin from the GDR yesterday and he reckoned on an equally high figure for today—was occupying one's emotions and was overwhelming everyone.

'Largest Demonstration Yet' Takes Place in Gera

LD0911203989 East Berin ADN International Service in German 2015 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Gera (ADN)—This evening, several tens of tousands of citizens formed the largest demonstration yet in Gera. The procession, led by Chief Mayor Horst Jaeger, Superintendent Otto Heinrich Mueller, and representatives of the New Forum, started off after peace prayers in three churches in the city.

On banners and in chants, the participants called for free elections and unlimited freedom to travel, among other things. Representatives from parties and citizens' initiatives presented their points of view and opinions in the churches earlier.

Erfurt Demonstrators Demand Free Elections

LD0911212489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2044 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Erfurt (ADN)—Around 80,000 citizens this evening demanded free elections, a state based on the rule of law, and freedom of movement on Erfurt's Cathedral Square. Spokesman for the city's initiative groups presented their proposals and programs.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the fascist race pogrom a spokeswoman warned against radical right-wing tendencies, to applause from the crowd. A representative of the Christian Democratic Union stated that his party was leaving the city's National Front. The words of a speaker for the Socialist Unity Party Union were drowned out by whistles.

Plauen Citizens Stage Peaceful Demonstration

LD1111192189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1845 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Plauen (ADN)—Some 15,000 citizens from Plauen took part this afternoon in a peaceful demonstration through the center of the town. They held banners calling for free elections.

The majority of the participants gathered afterwards outside the town hall for a rally. City Councillor Peter Seeburg, to loud interruptions, tried to speak about decisions taken by the city council last week in response to demands by the citizens. A representative from New Forum demanded that environmental problems be solved.

Dresden SED Rally Supports Unity, Renewal

LD1211144189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—In Dresden on Sunday more than 50,000 members and candidates of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] endorsed the unity and renewal of their party and of socialism. Hans Modrow, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the SED area executive, said this rally was important in order to gain new courage and to be able to tackle new tasks. This was all the more necessary, he said to applause, because people were still waiting for it.

He said that the action program adopted at the 10th Central Committee meeting was the very first guideline and called the demand for an extraordinary party congress, which he endorsed, justified.

Many participants expressed their views on placards and banners. some of the slogans read "To gain trust is everything now, the party can do it;" "No time to lose, govern now;" and also: "Dresden full of hope—guarantor Hans Modrow."

Unanimously and with prolonged applause the participants expressed their complete trust in Hans Modrow and Chief Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer. Again and again the convening of a special party congress was demanded by the speakers on the tribune, as well as those in the square, just as there were demands for rigorous personnel changes and new elections on all levels of the SED, and for an end to the policy of surprise packages.

Veterans and candidate members of the party, scientists, doctors, members of the National People's Army and the People's Police asked to speak their proposals. Among other things, they called for a reworking of history and the rehabilitation of expelled and admonished members. Chief Mayor Berghofer expressed his satisfaction with the fact that the party had overcome the time of speechlessness. He referred to the GDR's internationalist responsibility to renew socialist society. For this a strong, effective, united workers' party was necessary, the only standard of which was the statute—a new one.

"Let us be happy that the people on the streets have forced a turning back and refection," he said. "This departure is our departure, our chance; we are the people, too." The rally ended with the joint singing of the Internationale.

Modrow Addresses Rally

LD1211183689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] More than 50,000 members and candidate members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] endorsed in Dresden on Sunday the unity and renewal of their party and socialism. Hans Modrow, first secretary of the SED Bezirk executive and prime minister-designate, said this rally is important in order to gain new courage and to be able to tackle new tasks. He went on to say:

[Begin Modrow recording] In the course of the work of this Central Committee, which is at present leading our party, you have been able to see for yourselves what has taken place and is taking place. No one, I think, needs to go into the details. A difficult debate and great disputes were also necessary in order [passage indistinct] you can get this from the communique, in order to talk about responsibility, to put the question about guilt, and at least to set into motion an investigation into who has to bear the responsibility and blame. [applause]

But here, comrades, there is one thing we must know. This task will have to be carried out justly. But it is not the whole solution, either. It has been rightly said here that in the last few days many ministers have been talking as if they had sacks full of miracles. Older ones among us can perhaps remember—and you do not have to be all that old to remember—when the eighth party congress took place there was a saying going round: The new general secretary has found the wallet of the previous one and can now pursue the same social policy. But no wallet had been found. The new general secretary cannot rely on a wallet. He is facing quite different problems, and ministers who pass round sacks of miracles must know that afterwards I will not be a miracle worker. [applause]

A lot of trust in the people will be necessary and above all, if we are talking about strength, not the strength of the individual or about whether the government or someone else bears the responsibility. It is our shared strength that we need. It is the commitment of each individual: this is our only opportunity, there will be no other. [end recording]

Leipzig SED Members Call for Congress

LD1111154589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At a rally in front of the Dimitrov Museum today, around 6,000 Leipzig Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] members called for a special party congress to be convened as quickly as possible. Only in this way can the party's ability to act be restored on all leadership levels, the majority of the over 20 speakers ascertained.

Called for was an SED that feels itself committed to the interests of all the people and not to the apparatus. On banners and chants could be seen and heard: "I want to remain a comrade, so get rid of the guilty ones;" "composure instead of division;" or "even if it hurts some, the SED belongs to the people."

Franz Borkenhagen, from the Mittag chemical factory, expressed his concern about the fact that there are still too many leading comrades who are not prepared to implement change honestly. Hans Gruenewald, mayor of the city area Leipzig-Northeast, spoke against the party functionaries meddling in the work of the people's representations and in favor of immediate aid measures for the city.

Roland Woetzei, first secretary of the SED Bezirk Executive, emphasized that the peaceful protests on the street had broken down ossified structures in the society. Democratic centralism must be implemented consistently from the bottom to the top so that each comrade can co-determine the party line.

Asked by speakers at the rally and by chants, Roland Woetzel gave the assurance, on behalf of those gathered, that he will support the convening of a special party conference.

Demonstrations Reported in Various Towns

LD1211185889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1807 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Dresden (ADN)—More than 50,000 members and candidate members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] endorsed in Dresden on Sunday the unity and renewal of their party and socialism. [passage omitted]

Some 20,000 Karl-Marx-Stadt residents came to the center of the city on Sunday morning for an SED rally. The invitation to attend had come from grass- roots organizations and institutions. [passage omitted]

Thousands of Magdeburg SED members gathered in front of the Ernst Thaelmann building, the headquarters of the area SED Executive, on Sunday morning. At this rally, immediately after the meeting of the area executive, they called for the "renewal of the party from below." Wolfgang Pohl, newly elected first secretary of the Area SED, gave an assurance that he will call for immediate party elections from the groups up to the Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Berlin Meeting of Soviet, Walters of U.S.

LD1211162889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1551 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The USSR ambassador to the GDR, Vyacheslav Kochemasov, and the U.S. ambassador to the FRG, Vernon Walters, in his capacity of head of the U.S. Mission in West Berlin, met in the Soviet Embassy in the GDR on Sunday, ADN has been informed. The meeting took place at the request of the U.S. side.

During the talk, which passed off in an open and constructive atmosphere, there was discussion of topical issues relating to the development of the situation within the sphere of the quadripartite agreement of 3 September 1971, and other issues of mutual interest.

Krenz, Stoph Send GOSR Anniversary Greetings

AU0911123089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Nov 89 p 1

[ND report: "Cordial Congratulations from the GDR to the Citizens of the Soviet Union"]

[Text] East Berlin—Egon Krenz and Willi Stoph have sent the following telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades:

We convey to you, the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers, and to the Soviet people cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings from the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the State Council, the Council of Ministers, and the people of the GDR on the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has entered the annals of international history forever as an outstanding event. It introduced a new era in the development on our planet, the epoch of social and national liberation.

The pioneering achievements of the Soviet people under the leadership of the party of Lenin, their heroic efforts and sacrifices in building and defending the socialist system, for peace and progress remain unforgotten.

The course of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union Party Conference is unanimously supported by the Communists and working people of the GDR. Our people are aware of the fact that the success of restructuring in the USSR is of decisive importance for strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace in the world. The constructive, initiative-rich policy of your country for peace, disarmament, and peace, which has essentially contributed to advancing the positive processes in the international arena, is highly appreciated.

We are filled with pleasure and satisfaction about the fact that the unshakable fraternal alliance between our parties and states is being steadily strengthened on the basis of common socialist goals, ideals, and values. The participation of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in the festivities on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of our republic emphatically demonstrated this once again.

In the future, too, the GDR will consider the deepening of the friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the strengthening of the socialist community, and the implementation of our joint peace policy as the priority command of its actions. It sees a decisive precondition for this in the purposeful implementation of its policy of renewal and continuity.

We wholeheartedly wish you, dear comrades, and all Soviet citizens much success in the perfection of socialism in the USSR and in the struggle to safeguard peace.

Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Kochemasov's Toast

AU0911200489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Nov 89 p 5

[Toast by Soviet Ambassador to the GDR Vyacheslav Kochemasov at a reception on the 72d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Embassy in Berlin on 6 November: "Reception in the Soviet Embassy"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—The friendship and cooperation between the USSR and the GDR have been linked by thousands of political and ideological threads. This was pointed out by Soviet Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov at the reception in the USSR Embassy. The reception was attended by Egon Krenz and other GDR representatives, as well as by chiefs of diplomatic missions.

The USSR ambassador said in his toast:

I cordially welcome you at the reception in the Soviet Embassy on the occasion of our National Day, the birthday of the Soviet country. Great October is justifiably called the most important event of the 20th century. It gave rise to an enormous revolutionary wave and set the forces of social progress into motion. The ideals of October have led to the best and most heroic things in our history. Without it there would not be our perestroyka, which has revitalized the creative potential of socialism.

At the initiative of the party, profound changes are currently being carried out in all spheres of life in our country. Millions of Soviet people are included in this process. Great structural changes in the economy are emerging. The bases of a truly socialist rule of the people and of democracy, a new political culture of socialism, are being formed. Restructuring has introduced fundamentally new elements into the Soviet Union's foreign policy. The principle of the new political thinking is gaining ground in practice.

Because of the strong and well-thought-out initiatives of the Soviet Union, international tensions have been tangibly reduced. Realistic prospects for detente in the military confrontation in Europe have emerged, the international political dialogue will be continued actively. All these are concrete results of perestroyka.

Processes of renewal are currently taking place in countries with different social and economic systems. The changes also encompass the world of socialism. Varieties of modern development, which take into consideration national peculiarities and traditions, are being searched. Historical experience has convincingly shown that there is no universal model of socialism. And, vice versa, freedom of choice and the independence of the countries make it possible to enrich the theory and practice of socialism.

One of the indispensable markers of our policy is the friendship and cooperation with the GDR. Our countries are linked by thousands of political, economic, and ideological threads. At the recent meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Egon Krenz it was stressed again that the GDR is our reliable friend and ally. Its existence is and remains the most important factor of peace and security in Europe.

We see that serious changes are taking place in the GDR and that difficult problems, which concern the interests of all citizens of the country, are being solved. At the initiative of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], a new stage of its development has begun. This is the stage of renewal in all important fields, of renewal in the interest of socialism and in the interest of the people. Relying on the concurrence of views with the SED concerning the basic questions of building socialism, the CPSU will continue to consolidate cooperation between the two parties, and will continue to develop relations with all countries in the economy, in the social area, and in foreign policy, in the interest of the entire socialist community, in the interest of consolidating and expanding relations on the basis of good neighborliness and complete sovereignty.

On this occasion I wish the Communists, the members of other democratic parties and organizations, which are represented in the National Front, the workers class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the veterans, and the young people of the GDR great successful deeds for the benefit of their homeland.

Also present at our reception are the heads of the diplomatic missions. I wish them, their countries, and peoples much success, well-being, and peace.

Schabowski Discusses Possible Free Elections

LD0911161889 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1745 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Excerpt from 8 Nov press conference by Guenter Schabowski, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo Central Committee, in charge of information and media policy; place not given—live]

[Excerpts] Your party is the party of the GDR working class. It is the strongest political party, it is the party that from the very beginning and through very hard times has decisively created the new system of society. It has, of course, done so in alliance with other democratic antifascist forces. We are perhaps the political force with the most consistent interest in the preservation of our society's socialist foundations, and not only in their preservation, but also in renewal and renewal of the party itself, in the further build-up of these socialist foundations to the benefit of the people. It is against this backdrop that we believe the new developments facing our people do not require the particular responsibility of the Socialist Unity Party to a lesser extent, but to a much larger extent. However, the party must face the challenges, the demands, and the criticism of the people and also of its partners within the alliance, which are now calling for their thoughts and ideas to be reflected to a wider extent than has been the case so far.

I do not want to make the mistake of confining myself to naming only political parties and existing social organizations when it comes to mentioning the forces with which we will cooperate. Our position is that cooperation must also encompass those social forces that in recent developments have proved to be sources of impetus and must always be seen in context with the initiatives triggered by the democratic people's movement.

The Central Committee deals with the draft action program and with the proposal of preparing and not just amending an electoral law which, in my view, takes into account the call for free elections of the country's political forces which are on hand and eligible for such a vote. [passage omitted] After all, it will be an electoral law to be ratified by the People's Chamber, something that can only implemented in a process of democratic decision-making and, ultimately, with a consensus among all social forces that have a say in this issue. We are prepared for it, though.

What will these free elections be like? Well, please allow me to refrain from any advance explanation of the future electoral law. My idea is, however, that all political forces which have established themselves as eligible organizations will take part in the elections; that such elections allow for agreements and coalitions to be established among the forces involved.

I cannot say that this would entirely rule out the type of alliance and electoral alliance we have today. Everything will depend not only on the Socialist Unity Party of

Germany [SED], however, but on the undoubtedly self-confident political forces we already have and will see in our country. The joint debate and vote with these forces will thus result in an electoral law, which will have to be adopted by the people's representative body that, in turn, comprises representations of all forces involved.

You may believe that we will not come up with any unrealistic elaborations. If that were the case, there would be no point in my sitting here and announcing action programs and so on. What is important now, instead, is to define the term democracy and all its ramifications in order to achieve a socialist society that allows for conflicts of interest between divergent political forces to be cleared and solved jointly on a socialist basis. Conflicts of interest will also play a role in the preparation of the electoral law. In other words, there will be an electoral law acceptable to all forces involved and with all the consequences this bears for us.

If there is an electoral law that enables all political forces to announce and defend their programs, the SED will face it. Theoretically, the chance [of being voted out] is there, if we face it. But once again I say, do not expect me to tell you now that the SED will enter such elections and the debate on such an electoral law with the suicidal idea of being removed from the scene, to to speak. I have emphasized time and again that as the party of the most powerful social force in our country and as the advocate of consistent socialism, we do in fact have the chance and the courage—and that is the precondition to preparing any such law—to try and gain in free elections a position that enables us to continue to assume the corresponding responsibility in our society.

Modrow Says Face up to Free Elections

LD0911183189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Central Committee is under pressure due to high expectations, but also from great doubts about its capacity to make decisions, said SED Politburo Member Hans Modrow to the 10th Central Committee Session today. The working class was and remains the leading force in society and can only realize its interests with a Marxist-Leninist party. Referring to the latest events, he said in the discussion, which began the same day: "Wherever we have had to prove ourselves as the governing party with steadfastness and responsibility, we have further increased the loss of trust through waiting and hestitation." One must face up to the demands for free elections, for a referendum on the Constitution, and to questions concerning the identity of GDR citizens, which the opponent brings up with reference to the continuing wave of emigration.

The turning point has come from the streets and one must not forget the Leninist principle that a party which does not recognize and acknowledge its mistakes loses the capacity to lead. "If our reflection only takes place because of pressure from the streets, if our courage does not come from within ourselves, and our place is not in the midst of the people's dialogue, then we have neither the strength, the right, nor the trust to receive the endorsement of the party and the people." The turning point must begin with the renewal of the party itself and be very closely linked to it. "Mere demands and appeals to preserve and strengthen the militant strength of the party completely overlook the situation which has actually arisen."

With regard to the future government, he stressed that the latter not only needs new faces, but above all a new quality and a viable new structure. The large Council of Ministers, in numerical terms, must be replaced by a real government which will some time in the future even be described as a "grand coalition." A completely new relationship must be established between the party leadership and government. The alliance policy must be convincingly reflected in the government. The speaker pleaded for an introduction of sovereignty for the deputies. For the past 20 years the SED People's Chamber group has not performed "and we certainly haven't learned to debate in the People's Chamber." Here the party must immediately adapt to new demands. "We will soon have to conduct parliamentary debates of the kind that the SED has not had to conduct in its entire history. They will be a deciding factor for the leading role; for the party must influence the people's assemblies in its political activity and can no longer address itself to the state executive."

Hans Modrow formulated three basic directions of economic reform. It must rigorously ensure that the real needs of the people, of the economic units, and naturally also of society, and not some indices or other, are the starting point of all activity. In connection with these needs, the essence of social policy must be redefined. The reform should result in the economy as well as the whole of society being put on a far-reaching economic footing.

Newspapers Cited on Renewal of Party

LD1011132489 East Berlin ADN in English 1139 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"In the process of renewal also our party must and will be renewed," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND daily says on Friday, commenting on a three-day plenary meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) ending on the same day.

"Our professed aim is to build a strong party capable to act and imbued with a new democratic self-awareness," the SED daily goes on. We will re-establish our role as the leading political force only through a democratically and scientifically elaborated strategy of solving the problems, through a convincing conception of society, through the capacity to learn in dialogue with all social forces, through competence and the hard, sincere work of every member."

"The SED now does move, or rather, has been set moving," the Christian Democratic paper NEUE ZEIT says. Still statements on a crucial point—the SED's claim to leadership of society—were vague and half-hearted.

The demand of people, including SED members, that the SED relinquish its claim to leadership, doubtless, resulted from three factors. These were "the significant errors committed under the party's leadership to the detriment of our country, the loss of trust incurred by the presumptious, statist way of asserting its policy, and the anxiety that if this leadership claim continues the potential which has triggered off the turn and carries the hope of the future will not become effective in its whole democratic broadness."

The people "is no longer prepared to acknowledge the lead of one party or person," the Liberal Democratic DER MORGEN affirms. "This mature people wants to freely and secretly choose between several candidates, parties and groups now and not in far-away 1991 and decide which person and which program should be in a prominent position in the process of awakening. One-sided claims to power and leadership by one party, especially those fixed in the Constitution, are out of place in the concept of changes."

Interior Ministry Denies Restrictions Lifted

LD1211123789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1152 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Unfounded rumors and speculation about the alleged lifting of existing restrictions on FRG citizens and Berlin (West) inhabitants for journeys into and through the GDR have been disseminated in the FRG and in Berlin (West). The GDR Interior Ministry stated this today.

In accordance with the agreements under international law concluded between the two German states as well as the Senate of Berlin (West) and with the transit and the travel and visitor agreements, existing regulations will remain in effect.

Culture Minister Questions SED Leading Role

LD1211150389 Hamburg DPA in German 1432 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—GDR Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann has called the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] claim to leadership into question within the context of a possible amendment to the GDR Constitution. The Constitution, which lays down the leading role of the party, fixed, as did any constitution, "certain conditions." "If these conditions no longer exist, then the Constitution must be amended," Hoffmann said in Leipzig today. Thus, he could quite easily imagine a culture minister who did not belong to the SED, stressed the politician who already called for a thorough renewal in the GDR leadership some weeks ago.

Prokot Editorial Examines New Travel Law

AU1211180189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Nov 89 p 2

[Gerd Prokot editorial: "A New Law in the Pros and Cons of Opinions"]

[Text] As was to be expected, the publication of the draft law on the travel of GDR citizens to foreign countries has caused a wave of spontaneous reactions. The amount of mail to the GDR Council of Ministers will be very great until 30 November. Until this date the draft is up for public discussion. As the letters on page 3 show, the range of opinions is broad; it reaches from satisfaction with the step that has been initiated, to skepticism, to open rejection of the draft as unsatisfactory because of insufficiency.

This is as little surprising as the fact that—with a few exceptions—the commentators of the FRG media do not have one single good word to say about the draft. Not without reason, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE writes, the West speaks "of traps." FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU claims to see an "attack of generosity with the typical snags of an authoritarian state." The label "foggy" and "strenuous" was used by DIE WELT for the draft; to the MORGENPOST, which is published in West Berlin, it is a "petty and rather restrictive draft." Out of this chorus of eternal fault-finders, for whom we can never do anything right, those voices which concede us honest efforts distinguish themselves. "All in all, the new law goes much farther than any previous valid and usual laws," SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG admits. ARD commentator Pleitgen believes "that in the end the document will be able to stand its ground before any CSCE committee. East Berlin has really moved a great distance."

In view of such prudent statements, we do not delude ourselves by believing that we have found the philosopher's stone. The draft law is neither something incomparable nor will it solve all of our problems all at once as soon as it is passed by the People's Chamber. Many things in the draft seem a bit half-hearted, others seem too bureaucratic; such an important and difficult question as the acquisition of financial means for travel has not been answered at all. Nevertheless, all of this need not be a disadvantage if it enlivens public debate and leads to a result, which not only stands its ground at CSCE forums, but—and this is the most important thing—takes into account the interests of the large majority of our citizens. They expect that those who pucker their lips also whistle.

It is idle to speculate about what would have happened if this draft, which has been considered for quite some time, had been presented one half year ago; Egon Krenz affirmed before the international press in Moscow that realpolitik has to proceed from the given facts and must indicate feasible directions. This striving dictates the draft of the new law, the final edition of which will be written during the discussion. It was initiated by the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which thus once again proves its will for renewal.

Soviet Reaction to East European Changes Noted

AU1311102289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Oct 89 p 3

[Editorial by Laszlo N. Sandor: "Private Opinion"]

[Text] The officials of Soviet Foreign Ministry, the skyscraper in Smolensk Square, are encouraging and calming us, Eastern European countries "undergoing changes." Forward-looking statesmen repeatedly declare that there cannot be another November 1956 and August 1968: The peoples of Eastern Europe are deciding themselves on their fate in Berlin, Warsaw, and Budapest. The officials in Smolensk Square are well aware that it is impossible to build a common European home while at the same time continuing to send alarm signals to the neighbors, like the inventors of the Brezhnev doctrine used to do.

Mikhail Gorbachev rang the knell of this doctrine in Helsinki the other day. Reporting Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's fresh experiences in Poland, PRAVDA does not mention concern about the Polish situation; on the contrary, it expresses optimism that the Mazowiecki coalition government could be a suitable partner within the Warsaw Pact, and even finds it natural that "they should jointly clarify and eliminate the historical contradictions in Polish-Soviet relations, and this can be achieved only through mutual understanding and compromise."

Shevardnadze is not alarmed, and, during his recent press conference, he even excluded the possibility that the recent changes in Eastern Europe had prompted the East-West summit. This means that Moscow does not feel a crisis situation in its Eastern European allies. This sense of calm can drift into our countries and could provide a real, constructive, and effective background for every bilateral and multilateral relation based on equality and partnership.

However, if we take the Soviet press and media, the Soviet public reaction to the changes under way in Eastern Europe are far from being so balanced and clear-cut. This is still no problem. The Soviet press is pluralistic nowadays, and it has various tones. It is natural that the Soviet press represents a wide range, from the Russian-language ATMODAT enthusiastic about "the Hungarian revolution of 1956" published in Riga and spread by alternative newspaper vendors all over the Soviet Union, to the TASS news agency. The evaluation of the latest Hungarian events is as mixed as the opinion of the Soviet press about the leading role of the party, the bureaucratic power apparatus, the forms of ownership, the acceptance or rejection of private property, and the interpretation of national and republic rights. This is the way it should be. Why should the opinions about the stormy changes in Hungary or Poland not be different?

The front pages of newspapers from Tokyo to Helsinki are full of news coming from Budapest and Warsaw (and lately from Berlin too.) However, the Soviet Union considerably refrains from evaluating or commenting on this news. This can be explained by editorial traditions and the obsolete press structure before glasnost. The Soviet Television carries everyday reports on inflation and unemployment in Hungary. On the other hand, it also carries reports on CSSR successes and the complete repayment of debts by Romania. Of course, up to the very recent times, we could read similarly balanced reports about prosperity and satisfaction in the GDR.

PRAVDA only occasionally carries commentaries written by its well-trained reporters, and TRUD and the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA are also cautious with reports sent by their newsmen stationed in Budapest....

However, A. Kondrashev, TASS's well-informed Eastern European commentator, is constantly expressing his concern about the changes underway in Hungary, and he does this in well-read and prestigious newspapers like SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA and MOSCOVSKAYA PRAVDA.

Kondrashev's article published in the SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA sounds alarming even by its title in the "Replica" column: "When Openness Knows No Boundaries." The writer picks the DATUM and the HAJDU-BIHARI NAPLO to show the extent of chauvinistic and revisionist passions on the loose in Hungary. When the unknown authors of the aforementioned two newspapers demand the return of Transcarpathia from Soviet Union, Kondrashev hints that Hungary will obviously also demand the return of Croatia and Transylvania. However, he does not mention the fact that no Hungarian statesman—including the opposition regarded as irresponsible—has ever demanded any rectification of frontiers or the return of Upper Northern Hungary or the rich Kolozsvar. All the Hungarian statesmen called for respect toward European realities and for the national minority rights of the ethnic Hungarians living in the succession states, something that the Soviet leaders regard as justified in particular.

Kondrashev's latest analysis in the Saturday issue of MOSCOVSKAYA PRAVDA buries the HSP, confronting it with the still unfounded MSZMP, which allegedly already has 120,000 registered members. Contrary to the former MSZMP general secretary, Kondrashev does not even doubt this.

Kondrashev's "private opinions" would not deserve so much attention had we not been aware of the role played by TASS in the Soviet mass media, and if we did not have to consider the fact that all the world regards the Soviet commentator's opinion as being close to the government opinion, as in the case of his "private opinion" about the GDR refugees, when his commentary turned into a semi-official stand.

Government Wants Speedier Soviet Withdrawal

LD0911214589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2118 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] It is the intention of the Hungarian Government that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary should be significantly speeded up next year, and be concluded as soon as possible. The Soviet Union agrees entirely with this. The withdrawal, however, depends on the results of the talks on the reduction of military force, to be held next February in Vienna. Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, member of the HSP Presidium, spoke about this at a rally in Kiskunhalas.

He also said that the government has commenced substantive negotiations with the International Monetary Fund about the reduction of the interest burdens of the debt stock. In the coming 2 years, the inflow of 1 and ½ billion dollars of working capital can be expected, too. The government also wishes to reduce the debt stock by selling a part of this in the form of shares.

Commentaries, Interviews on Changes in GDR

Future Queried

LD0811230789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Can Egon Krenz, the recently elected president of the GDR, step over his own shadow? He who tries to run a race with time and with international and popular demands? As yet only a hypothetical answer can be given to this question, although the present change of guards may also be conceived as a preliminary sign of significant changes. For until now, the Krenz leadership has made its decisions undoubedly lagging behind events and under pressure from the masses. Even the recent resignation of the Politburo cannot be viewed differently. Those prominent figures of the party who primarily are responsible for the past, for the serious crisis, are now leaving the top political leadership.

It is noteworthy that the main demands are already aimed at free elections and the elimination of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's leading role.

MAGYAR HIRLAP Views Changes

AU0911153989 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Nov 89 p 3

[Editorial by Laszlo Kulcsar: "Sacrifice"]

[Text] Historic changes are taking place in the GDR. In a period of precisely 1 month there has been a turn of 180 degrees in the eastern part of Germany, a place where—I can prove it as a witness—the German "people's" police and the "Stazi" (or the equivalent of our former internal security forces, the Avo) took a very tough stand against the demonstrators in the first days of October. The police acted with a brutality that surpassed even the extremist dictatorships. Witnessing the activity of the organization of violence deployed to halt the ever increasing number of demonstrators in Leipzig, Dresden, Plauen, Magdeburg, Berlin, etc, I wrote the following from Berlin: "This state hates its own citizens." Just as some 1 or 2 years ago here in Hungary, witnessing the events here in Budapest, a Western correspondent had to come to similar conclusions. He could repeatedly report the same from Prague in recent weeks. The news coming from the Socialist Republic of Romania confirms the same conclusions.

It is a poetic question: Why do events have to repeat themselves in such a way? Why is it normal that the neo-Stalinist regimes are unable to learn from history and from the events in the heart of Europe on the eve of the 21st century? Without any special erudition, one can conclude from the logic of events that the peoples' desire for democracy is stronger than any oppressing power! Only the darkest minds can speculate about the "dismissal of the people," something that, naturally, cannot succeed.

Let us return to the German land! In the course of the last few weeks protest demonstrations of tens of thousands of people grew into demonstrations of several hundreds of thousands of people, and into a demonstration of almost 1 million people in Berlin on 4 November. What took place in East Berlin on 4 November 1989 was perhaps one of the largest (if not the largest) spontaneous and peaceful demonstration in all German history. At the same time, the greatest restructuring in the history of the German republic which was democratically declared 40 years ago has now begun. Real people's rule is now beginning to replace the rule of gerontocracy. The millions of people who have been treated as minors for decades (and not only on German soil!) are now trying to escape from the "care" of party-state(s) and to finally try to live, work, establish families, organize communities, and engage in politics as they please, and not as the scientific principles dogmatically stipulated for them.

The type of socialism that permeates the society and economy of many an East European (and also Asian, Latin-American, and African) country is anything but real socialism. Naturally, this type of socialism is very good for the minority, for those whose villas are surrounded by barbed wire and who enjoy an abundance of privileges; sometimes even more privileges than in the former feudal societies. Hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated in Berlin and in many other places in the country because of this, and for a constitutional state, for the freedom of the press, opinion, and travel, against bureaucracy, and for the reform of the political and economic system, for a democratic public life, that is, for renewal. Where, in which country will the masses take to the streets tomorrow?

A new man has been leading the East German state and the Communist Party for 3 weeks: the youngest member of the old guard. His task is not easy because he has to gain or regain the confidence of no less than 16.5 million citizens. Krenz spoke to the people of the GDR on the eve of the big demonstration in Berlin: He tried to mobilize his fellow citizens for the things that they have been calling for for a long time, first of all the opposition within the party-state, namely for a democratic, humane, and modern socialism. At the same time, he asked for the confidence of the East Germans. The greatest thing a leader can ask for.

The current social movement which is faster than any other before it, the increasing impatience, and the urging of reforms require a tremendous amount of tolerance and political common sense, as well as leadership talent. The gap deriving from decades of unfulfilled promises and the subsequent lack of confidence cannot be bridged overnight. Among other things, this is one reason for the emigration that, so far, could not be halted. The current tragic loss of tens of thousands of people (more than 3 million since the existence of the GDR) is really a sacrifice the GDR is making on the altar of historical renewal.

The question is: Is this sacrifice necessary? This tragedy could have been avoided, first of all and exclusively by sacrificing the minority and recognizing the situation that it is no longer possible to advance in the old way and with the old guard. Just like in Hungary (and in the Soviet Union and Poland), the leaders in the GDR did not want to admit this for many years. This is also one reason for the fact that most people are no longer satisfied with the promise of freedom of travel and with sacrificing generals and officers.

Somogyi Interviewed on Events

LD1011233889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Interview with State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Ferenc Somogyi by correspondent Jozsef Laszlo from documentary program on Berlin Wall—live]

[Text] [Laszlo] The most recent developments in Berlin raise the question of whether the Hungarian government, when it decided to dismantle the Iron Curtain on the western frontier of the country, counted on this starting an avalanche, and that the disappearance of the Iron Curtain on the Hungarian-Austrian border could also cause the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

[Somogyi] Our decision relating to the elimination of the Iron Curtain on the Hungarian-Austrian border fundamentally derived from the Hungarian foreign policy aim—and this is valid, today, too—that we endeavor to contribute according to our possibilities, to the positive European processes which aim for the elimination of the division of the continent, and which help to advance cooperation.

We think that those developments which are happening these days in the GDR, concretely in Berlin, also point in this direction, though I could not say that in our concrete decision, a role was played by the thought that in some way, also indirectly, we should encourage other governments.

[Laszlo] The great changes which are underway this fall, as a matter of fact, in a paradoxical way may not be favorable for Hungary. What I am thinking of is that Hungarian diplomacy is achieving much, the Hungarian changes are progressing well, but at the same time, from an economic point of view, it is probable that we might get into an unfavorable position by, for example, the GDR receiving a more preferential status in terms of credits and grants than Hungary.

[Somogyi] While the danger of the Western support, in its quantifiable aspects, having to be divided now into a greater number of shares does really exist, and the GDR would perhaps receive greater attention—owing to certain considerations—than let's say Hungary in this given situation, in the end, in the long run and looking at it from a point of view of principle, I think that the fact that the new thinking increasingly prevails in Eastern Europe as a whole both from an internal as well as from foreign political points of view is, under any circumstances, favorable for us. It makes in the long term more favorable in any event those international conditions under which the Hungarian renewal and reform process can advance.

[Laszlo] Is Hungarian diplomacy counting on the coming Soviet-U.S. summit laying the foundations for, if not a new Yalta, then a new two-power agreement?

[Somogyi] I think that I can reply with both a yes and a no to this. Yes, in the sense that the two superpowers can agree that they handle these developments as a positive contribution to the favorable formation of world politics and form their policies connected to this in accordance with this, by which I mean that they avoid external intervention in the fundamentally internal processes. At the same time, the reply is no in the sense that I do not think that there would be any kind of moral or political basis for the two superpowers to reach an agreement, over the heads of the countries concerned, which directly influences, restricts, the internal processes underway in these countries.

Horn on Situation

LD1211221789 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 12 Nov 89

[From "The Week" program; interview with Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Istvan Sandor]

[Text] [Sandor] Events in the GDR have been following on one another's heels with lightning rapidity in the recent days. It seems as if the ruling Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] were fleeing forward. I wonder whether the same fate might not await this party which awaited the ruling party in Hungary, too, let us say.

[Horn] It is fleeing forward. But as a matter of fact one can flee forward also on the basis of a decision and not only out of constraint. In my view it is the latter which is occurring, which has occurred, in the GDR. The SED has been constrained to the changes, to making the changes. In this, we have a great deal of experience, because we are further advanced, the essence of which experiences is that only the beginning is difficult. After that it even becomes a problem how to restrain the tempo of the changes.

The other issue of fundamental importance to me is that this is only the beginning, in my opinion. It is a beginning because a great many things there must be settled. I consider it impossible that they should not attain the level of pluralism expressed in the multi-party system. This endeavor is also already appearing in the GDR. Moreover, I would like to add that in this sense parties have existed, even if not in a developed form, rather in a kind of repressed, withered form. These parties may grow into real political factors within days, weeks. [Word indistinct] in my view, precisely on the basis of the proximity of the FRG, and the FRG's big influence, the process of change in social self-organization and in many other areas, as well, could be quicker than even in Hungary or elsewhere.

[Sandor] In the GDR, at the same time, and not only in the GDR but in the FRG as well, and as a matter of fact in the whole of Europe, the question of German reunification has once again come on the agenda. I have the feeling that the events of the past days have even accelerated at least the process of that debate, if not the process of the reunification itself. Still, in your judgment, what obstacles have been removed and what obstacles still exist in the path of this reunification?

[Horn] In my view no essential obstacle has been removed regarding reunification because I do not consider it reunification that the GDR citizens may cross freely into West Berlin, or that they may resettle in the FRG. Moreover, as far as I know, that great fever, that emigration, resettlement, fever has in recent days abated, and what is more, considerably; more and more the mood that is gaining dominance is that one has to stay in the GDR and that it is in the GDR that one has to cooperate in the changes.

Reunification, in any case, I think, is not raised first and foremost on the part of the Germans, as far as I can see today. Above all it is raised in the surrounding world, starting with the United States, through Western Europe, to the Soviet Union. Every large-scale rapprochement of this kind, even if it can be called gigantic - but at all events only rapprochement and not reunification, brings very many things to the surface, old anxieties and everything else. There is hardly a people, a nation, in Europe which would not immediately have visions and everything else in connection with German unity, or a great Germany. Therefore, for the others, this is an extremely sensitive problem.

What are the obstacles? First and foremost that the two countries belong to two different military political blocs. How can a unification be imagined without their changing this status of theirs?

[Sandor] With neutrality, for example. Quite a lot is said about this on both sides.

[Horn] Yes, but this would require their both leaving NATO or the Warsaw Treaty. That would launch unforeseeable processes for both alliance systems. Actually, I would not consider those processes to be negative, but they might promote the dissolution of the two military political blocs. In the form of neutrality, or of a confederation, but precisely because of the Germany significance, in a way that would in some manner be guaranteed by the Soviet Union, the United States, or that would get a four-power guarantee, as happened in the case of Austria. But this would require conclusion of the German peace treaty; this would require settling adherence to the above mentioned blocs, the relations to the CEMA or the European Economic Communities, and many other issues. So, this is a very long road as yet, in my judgment.

[Sandor] After the GDR, reports have come also from Bulgaria allowing the wind of change to waft into Europe. In practice, with the exception of Czechoslovakia and Romania, there is not a single East European country where in the past year, or year and a half, radical changes have not begun or not continued. Do you feel that this could speed up the loosening of the two military blocs, or, from our point of view, from the Hungarian point of view, the loosening of the Warsaw Treaty?

[Horn] The danger or the possibility of this in no way exists directly. In the long-term perspective, it definitely does. What are we talking about? What we are talking about is that if the policy, the process, of radical changes sweeps through Eastern Europe, gains the right of [word indistinct] then naturally this in itself represents a big rapprochement to Western Europe. To put in another way, the domestic political changes could have a very large influence on the international approach of the countries concerned, on there relations to Western Europe, and the rest of the world. This could to a very large extent accelerate the rapprochement of the two parts of Europe to one another, with the ending of fear, of reservations, of mistrustfulness. This is a precondition, as a member of fact, for the common European home, or of the dissolution of the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

So, in my view, there it is a question not of loosening, but of a kink of rapid rapprochement, the transition to a convergence, to a convergence in the social, political and other senses. On the other hand, I can also imagine a transitional condition in which the NATO and the Warsaw Treaty—as it has already stated to happen in Vienna—do not in fact confront, stand opposite one another, but cooperation as closely as possible right up to the time when they describe, qualify, one another as superfluous.

Further Horn Remarks

AU1311125289 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 13 Nov 89 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Horn: Unity of Germany Possible"]

[Excerpt] Budapest—According to Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, the changes in the GDR are the beginning of a development which in the long run could lead to the dissolution of the two military blocs, Warsaw Pact and NATO, as well as to the reunification of Germany. After a conference with the foreign ministers of Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy about regional cooperation, Horn told journalists in Budapest on Saturday [11 November] that before reunification can become reality, there must be international guarantees for the inviolability of the borders. At the moment it is important that the GDR is not destabilized as this would cause difficulties to the entire Warsaw Pact, Horn added. [passage omitted]

State Minister on Changes in Eastern Europe

LD1011125889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Interview with Ferenc Somogyi, minister of state for the Foreign Ministry, by Jozsef Laszlo on 10 November; place not given—recorded]

[Text] From an economic point of view, it is probable that we might get into an unfavorable position if the GDR receives a more preferential status in terms of credits and grants than Hungary.

[Somogyi] Even until now, we have not been able to say that Hungary was the exclusive flagbearer of these forward-looking processes. It is a fact that I am not driven by selfish points of view—if I may use this phrase—when judging this issue. There is the danger of Western support being divided up into a greater number of shares if the GDR receives more attention than Hungary, due to certain considerations. But, while this danger does exist, in the long run and based on principle, I think the fact that the new thinking is increasingly prevailing in Eastern Europe as a whole, both in domestic and foreign policies, is favorable to us under any circumstances. In the long run, the prevalence of new thinking makes those international conditions under which the Hungarian renewal and reform process advance more favorable.

[Lazslo] There have been changes in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and in the GDR, and the list is by no means complete. From the Hungarian diplomatic viewpoint, can similar changes be expected in the other countries in the immediate future?

[Somogyi] It is my conviction that the similarity of the existing objective circumstances in these countries, the sameness of the problems awaiting solution, presumes objectively that forward-looking changes—identical in their direction to those that have taken place in Hungary, and employing more or less similar methods to ours—will occur sooner or later in these countries. Naturally, this does not mean, by any means, that we should conceive the Hungarian process—in any interpretation of the term—as a model to be copied by others, because in our history we have had unfavorable experiences with the uncritical imitation of foreign models.

Adriatic-Danube Quadrilateral Conference Begins

SFRY's Loncar Arrives for Talks

LD1011225889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1858 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Budimir Loncar arrived on an official visit in Budapest tonight. Tomorrow he will take part in the meeting of diplomatic heads of services of Yugoslavia, Italy, Austria, and Hungary, dedicated to the improvement of regional cooperation in all spheres. Loncar is also expected to hold separate talks with the participants in this unique meeting.

Foreign Ministers Begin Meeting

LD1111181789 Budapest MTI in English 1608 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—On Saturday afternoon, the two-day Hungarian-Yugoslav-Italian-Austrian meeting opened in Budapest with a foreign ministerial discussion.

The aim of the quadrilateral conference is to map out a framework for closer cooperation in the Adriatic-Danube region. The opening event was attended by Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn of Hungary, Budimir Loncar of Yugoslavia, Gianni de Michelis of Italy and Alois Mock of Austria.

The foreign ministers are expected to mark out the general aims of regional cooperation covering the economic, social and cultural areas. A joint communique is to be issued on their conference.

On Sunday, the second day of the quadrilateral meeting, the deputy prime ministers are to discuss ways for the four countries to fill the framework of regional cooperation with a concrete meaning. According to preliminary consultations, the scheme will extend to the coordinated development of the road network, and the energetics and telecommunications systems. Great importance is to be given to the national minorities in drawing relations closer.

Further on Conference

LD1111220989 Budapest MTI in English 2124 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—A foreign ministers' discussion opened the two-day Hungarian-Yugoslav-Italian-Austrian meeting in Budapest on Saturday.

The aim of the quadrilateral conference is to map out a framework for closer cooperation in the Adriatic-Danube region. The opening event was attended by Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn of Hungary, Budimir Loncar of Yugoslavia, Gianni de Michelis of Italy and Alois Mock of Austria.

Speaking to journalists after the conference, Gyula Horn said on behalf of the participants: The venture of the four countries can justly be termed as being of historical importance. This is the first meeting after the Second World War where a NATO member, a Warsaw Treaty country, a neutral and a non-aligned states sit down to the conference table to draw their relations closer.

Cooperation with the countries of the Adriatic-Danube region is particularly important for Hungary also because it helps the country catch up with Europe. The Hungarian foreign minister stressed his conviction that the quadrilateral discussion may promote the success of efforts to create a single Europe. In intensifying their links, the four countries wish to rely on past traditions, the national minorities and a wide range of bilateral traditions.

Another aim of cooperation is rapprochement of the internal social systems, although the socio-political orders of the four countries differ at a number of points.

Mr Horn pointed out that the Sunday conference of deputy prime ministers is expected to explore concrete opportunities for cooperation. The foreign ministers agreed to finalize the cooperation concepts formulated in Budapest by next spring, and then to meet again in summer, probably in Italy.

Participants also agreed that the four countries' heads of government would assemble in Italy as part of the events marking the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. Further on, the foreign ministers would meet to discuss quadrilateral cooperation in a different country every year.

Answering questions, Gyula Horn stated the aim of the meeting was not the bring about some new alliance but to lay foundations for a novel type of regional cooperation. Apart from the political aspect, this is important to Hungary for receiving help in settling economic problems. Mr Horn was of the opinion that such a kind of regional cooperation does not violate the current spirit of the Warsaw Treaty. Should a Warsaw Treaty member show interest towards cooperation, Hungary would be ready to support efforts along this line, he said.

Answering a question about Czechoslovakia, Gyula Horn stressed that Hungary would welcome to see Czechoslovakia's joining the quadrilateral cooperation later on. As far as the East European changes are concerned, he said the GDR events created a new situation in the Warsaw Treaty after the reform countries became predominant within the organization. These changes are likely to have a strong impact on Czechoslovakia and accelerate the course of events there. Settling these questions, however, is the internal affair of Czechoslovakia, the Hungarian foreign minister said.

Gianni de Michelis was asked whether he sees a possibility for Albania also to be involved in the system of cooperation in the more distant future. The Italian foreign minister replied that the system is open to other countries as well, and Italy is interested in developing relations with Albania.

Another question concerned the foreign ministers' judgement of an eventual German reunification. In the view of Gyula Horn, eliminating the dividedness of the two German states will become a European reality, but this will take a longer process since first the German peace treaty has to be concluded and international assurances worked out to guarantee the frontiers set after the Second World War. This question also has a bearing on the relationship between the two large military-political systems, while settlement of the German issue may also promote the simultaneous disbanding of the two military blocs. The foreign ministers added: a major precondition for settling the German issue is that no uncontrollable destabilization processes get under way in Europe.

In the evening, Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, met the participants in the quadrilateral meeting in the Parliament building, and then Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth hosted a gala dinner in honour of the guests.

Communique Issued

LD1111221489 Budapest MTI in English
2145 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—The foreign ministers of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Italy and Austria have issued a joint communique on their Budapest conference stating that, by developing quadrilateral cooperation, the wish to contribute to strengthening the European security and cooperation process in a novel way. Relying on the high level of friendly links attained so far and the national minorities' role as a bridge, as well as bearing in mind the four countries' cultural and historic traditions, they intend to encourage life.

The four governments attach great importance to the relations in the economic, technical, scientific, cultural and touristic areas. The sides also stressed the importance of border-zone cooperation and agreed on the necessity to promote the active participation of social factors, organizations and individuals in the augmentation of contacts.

As of 1990, high-level political meetings are to be organized annually to further cooperation.

Nemeth Receives Italian Martelli

LD1111202289 Budapest MTI in English
1914 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met on Saturday Italian Deputy Prime Minister Claudio Martelli, currently in Budapest to attend the quadrilateral conference on regional cooperation this weekend.

Mr Nemeth and Mr Martelli stressed that the planned development of the four countries' cooperation may contribute in a novel manner to improving the political atmosphere in Europe. They said both countries are interested in the continued intensification of many-sided relations and calling for the setting up of up-to-date cooperation forms to this end.

Nyers Confers With Martelli

LD1111221989 Budapest MTI in English
2143 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—During their Saturday discussion, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, and Claudio Martelli, Hungary [as received] deputy prime minister, termed as important the development of cooperation between their countries and between the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Italian Socialist Party. Mr Nyers pointed out that Italy's energetic opening towards the central-Eastern European region, including Hungary, was a foreign policy step of all-European importance.

The HSP president stated that the Hungarian socialist movement teared away from Western Europe by the Stalinist policy has to find again points of close contacts.

Mr Nyers confirmed the invitation to his Italian counterpart, Bettino Craxi, president of the Italian Socialist Party, for a visit to Hungary.

Pozsgay Receives Martelli

LD1211003189 Budapest MTI in English
2200 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest November 11 (MTI)—Italian Deputy Prime Minister Claudio Martelli, in Budapest to attend the quadrilateral meeting, met Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, who informed him about the democratization process in Hungary.

Italian Financial Package Revealed

LD1211224789 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1900 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] The quadrilateral meeting of the four foreign ministers has also provided an opportunity for bilateral talks. At the discussion of the heads of Hungarian and Italian diplomacy, an interesting agreement was reached. Hungarian Foreign Minister, Gyula Horn gave a statement about this to the newsreeel first of all.

[Begin recording] [Horn] Italy, expressing great willingness to continue the support which it has shown up until now, will implement a financial package by January which will serve, first and foremost, the financing of investment in Hungary, and joint ventures. This package will be ready sometime in January next year at the latest. And it is not an insignificant amount.

[Unidentified reporter] Is this Italian state money, or is it the Italian Government supporting Italian private capital?

[Horn] A large proportion of this is state money, money which, in all events, has an encouraging effect on private ventures; it offers a guarantee for them.

[Reporter] Do we already have some idea about the size of this package?

[Horn] Insofar as it was possible to determine it specifically it is a question of a starting capital of over $100 million. [end recording]

Conference Ends

LD1211220989 Budapest MTI in English
1626 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 12 (MTI)—The foreign ministers of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Italy and Austria ended their two-day meeting in Budapest on Sunday with a press conference.

The purpose of the conference, which was also attended by the countries' deputy premiers, was to outline the possibility of closer cooperation between the countries of the Adria-Danube region.

At the news conference, journalists were told about the results of the discussions by Hungary's Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, Yugoslavia's Aleksandur Mitrovich, Italy's Claudio Martelli, and Josef Riegler, Austrian vice chancellor.

Mr Medgyessy began the briefing by stressing the significance of the talks: The four countries would like to lay the foundations for close, sub-regional cooperation. They would like to create cooperation founded on favorable relations between the individual countries, and this in turn would be further developed to multilateral cooperation. Close cooperation is especially important to Hungary in view of its transformation endeavours in order to find its way back to Europe.

At the deputy premiers' meeting, exchanges were held on the possibility of joint development of transport and transportation, telecommunications and environmental protection. Other important areas of cooperation include education and scientific research. The sides are also making efforts to promote cooperation between small and medium-sized companies.

Mr Medgyessy concluded by saying that outlining the details of the cooperation will be the task of the expert working groups scheduled to meet shortly. The task of coordinating the four-sided meeting by next summer has been taken on by Hungary, and the role of coordinator will be taken over by Italy after the scheduled prime ministerial meeting.

The possibility of settling the German issue was also raised at the press conference.

The importance of a realistic approach to the issue was stressed by the Austrian vice chancellor Josef Riegler, who also praised the events taking place in the GDR which serve to improve relations between the two Germanies. Nevertheless, Herr Riegler warned against thinking in terms of a unified German market at this early stage.

Speaking about Austria's aspirations, Herr Riegler said that his country was set on full integration with the EEC, and to this end, was making efforts to expand multilateral relations with the EC and EFTA. At the same time, Austria was endeavoruring to build closer ties with the East European countries embracing reforms, especially with Hungary, Yugoslavia and Poland. With Hungary, the aim is to promote the development of closer links between small and medium-sized companies.

Several questions were addressed to Mr Medgyessy on the government's management of Hungary's mounting economic difficulties. The deputy prime minister said servicing the country's debt stock was one of the most important tasks. One of the key elements of this lies in improving the country's export capability, while liberalising its imports. Hungary's export capability closely depends on whether foreign working capital can be involved in the development of the Hungarian economy.

Mr Medgyessy also emphasized that, despite the economic problems, Hungary will remain a reliable debtor, but it would like to keep counting on additional loans.

The deputy prime minister also spoke about the government's present strategic goal of ensuring a smooth economic and social transition for the country. To this end, it is continuing an intensive dialogue with the various political forces in the spirit of a government coalition, which does not yet exist.

Signor Martelli was asked whether any plan had been drawn up during the conference on financing the cooperation. The Italian deputy premier replied that so far, no such plan exists, since it is too early to talk about funds at a stage when the countries concerned have not outlined their plans. The basic idea of the plan is joint investments by the equal cooperating sides, designed to concentrate development on the areas most important to them, signor Martelli concluded.

Report on News Conference

LD1211231889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] [Announcer] The meeting of Hungarian, Austrian, Italian, and Yugoslav deputy premiers has ended in Budapest. Our staff member Istvan Kulcsar was also present at the press briefing that followed.

[Kulcsar] After the Hungarian, Austrian, Italian, and Yugoslav foreign ministers, today it was the deputy premiers of the four neighboring countries who met in Budapest. Peter Medgyessy, Josef Riegler, Claudio Martelli, and Alexander Mitrovich discussed i.a. the possibilities and tasks of the cooperation to be realized in the areas of energetics, industry, environmental protection and transport. At the news conference they held early this afternoon in the Duna-Intercontinental Hotel, the statesmen briefed international public opinion about the work concluded. First of all, what is four-power cooperation? Here is Peter Medgyessy's reply:

[Begin Medgyessy recording] A close, sub-regional cooperation, which is based, and can base itself, on the fact that bilateral relations among these four countries are excellent. It was this kind of system of bilateral relations which created the condition for our being able to think also in the category of quadrilateral cooperation. You know that fortunately the international world political atmosphere is increasingly favorable for such cooperation to evolve. You know the intention which guides Hungarian policy, that it should relate, connect, more closely to Europe, that it should find the way leading back to Europe. You are also acquainted with the situation which today within Europe increasingly promotes it that the borders, in the old, (?sharp) sense, should nor play the same role as before. [end recording]

[Kulcsar] After this the deputy premier briefly outlined how the joining of forces of the four will commence and continue:

[Begin Medgyessy recording] We have agreed on the schedule that until the next meeting, which will be next summer, until the meeting at the level of premiers, the Hungarian side will organize, coordinate the work. We have agreed that from next summer onward the Italian side will coordinate the work. There will also be a quadrilateral premiers' meeting, at least this is the intention we expressed in the course of the discussions. At the level of deputy premiers, following work by experts, for in the abovementioned five topics working groups of experts will come into being, at the level of deputy premiers we will meet at the invitation of Mr Riegler next spring in Austria. [end recording]

[Kulcsar] Journalists asked the Italian deputy premier, too, about the essence of the joining of forces of the four cooperating countries.

[Begin Martelli recording in Italian, fading into superimposed Hungarian translation] Claudio Martelli said that what is now taking shape is not integration, but close, friendly cooperation. European unity has several possible centers of cohesion. The four will now be bringing a new center of this kind into being, the Italian statesman noted. [end recording]

The Austrian vice-chancellor was asked, i.a., about bilateral and multilateral economic cooperation.

[Begin Riegler recording in German, fading into superimposed Hungarian translation] In his reply Dr Josef Riegler said that in Vienna they see a future first and foremost for Hungarin-Austrian mixed enterprises, to be created at the level of small and medium plants. Already there operate over 100 such enterprises. Afterward he declared his government will support the endeavor of Hungary and Yugoslavia to take part in the work of the European Council and European Free Trade Association. [end recording]

The representatives of the international news conference of course made use of the opportunity to put questions to the four leading statesmen, and thus questions and noteworthy answers, too, were heard which are not directly related to this morning's quadrilateral meeting. The correspondent of the London paper THE TIMES, put the question to Peter Medgyessy: How does the government intend, as Premier Miklos Nemeth in recent days indicated, to elaborate a 3-year economic emergency plan, when this government will only be in office for a short time? This was how the deputy premier replied:

[Medgyessy] The way we think is that this government has the duty to ensure undisturbed transition. That there should be a kind of smooth transition which guarantees that in the period of such a huge change, a change of system, social and economic chaos should not arise. This can be done in the following manner: If the government conducts dialogue with political forces; in other words, if it acts as if the coalition period already existed. In this case, in the course of coordinating the strategic issues, it is possible to arrive at a certain consensus. I am acquainted with the parties' economic political programs, and I can say that these do not fundamentally diverge from the government's economic political endeavors.

If it is managed to reach a kind of consensus in the basic elements of economic strategy, let us say for a 3-year period, and we will make use of every initiative towards the parties, then there is a chance for continuity to exist, a continuity which guarantees that, let us say an IMF agreement, or let say a German program, package, should find a guarantee that the basic elements of economic strategy will not change, or change only to a small extent. This is not only in the interest of today's government, but it is also in the fundamental interest of the parties, because this undisturbed transition helps the activity of a later coalition government.

General on Iron Curtain 'Completely Dismantled'

LD0911230689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Well before the time limit, the iron curtain on the Austrian-Hungarian border has been completely dismantled. A briefing on this subject was given by Brigadier General Janos Szekely, national commander of the border guard, to the various parties and social organizations.

He also said that in the border zone, they no longer carry out controls, either on trains or buses. Today, the border guards only carry out controls in a width of altogether 3 to 5 kilometres from the border.

The national commander said that in the future, instead of conscripts, they wish to use as many professional border guards as possible, primarily in passport checks. They are to introduce this as an experiment next year in Heyeshalom, and they plan the same for the Gyor district, on the Hungarian-Czechoslovak border too.

Further Reportage on Spain's Gonzalez's Visit

Meets With Nyers, Agreements Signed

LD0911182589 Budapest MTI in English 1550 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—On Thursday, the final day of his visit to Budapest, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, president of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, held a cordial discussion with Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], in Parliament about the political situation in general and the development of inter-party relations.

The negotiating parties stated that their personal views and their parties' policies are identical or highly similar in almost all matters discussed. They agreed on the need for a change in the political power relations which emerged after the Second World War.

Mr Nyers pointed out it was necessary to surpass the Yalta Accords taken in the Stalinist sense in a evolutionary manner, in which the smaller countries could also play a major part. It is impossible to jump from one camp to another, but it is possible to pursue an independent policy. Speaking about Hungarian political life, the HSP president mentioned among the tasks to be accomplished in the near future the perfection of constitutionality and efforts to render the new institutions effective. At the same time, it is imperative to give priority to economic questions, he added.

Felipe Gonzalez also expressed the opinion that the outcome of future political battles will depend on economic matters, as is shown by the Spanish experience. The Hungarian party president referred to finances as the severest economic problem facing the country. Mr Gonzalez and Mr Nyers agreed that the International Monetary Fund disregards political realities, although it is right from the financial point of view.

In connection with the economic issue, the Spanish prime minister stated that Western Europe considers it important to gain an insight into Hungarian experiences and is interested in supporting the current processes. He also called it relevant for Hungary to move from the category of state-controlled countries to among states with a market economy in the eye of the West.

With regard to inter-party relations, there was the agreement that developing favourable ties lies in the interest of the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. It was stated that the modern interpretation and future of socialist values have to be discussed jointly, along with other socialist and social democratic parties. The sides shared the view that the question should be approached on the basis of the parties' manifestos, organizational structures and practical policies. A major part of the socialist international leadership is well aware of the essence of this issue.

In the morning, the Spanish prime minister laid a wreath on the Hungarian heroes monument at Heroes' Square.

In the organization of the Spanish Embassy, Felipe Gonzalez met representatives of the Hungarian opposition parties. (MTI did not cover the meeting as its correspondent was not invited.)

As part of Thursday's partner talks, in the morning Foreign Ministers Gyula Horn and Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez discussed at the Foreign Ministry current issues of international life, bilateral relations and restructuring in Hungary.

The two foreign ministers stated that Felipe Gonzalez's trip took place in a period of importance for the future of Hungary and Europe alike. They agreed that realization of the proposals discussed during the prime ministerial programme would contribute to expanding cooperation between the two countries and raising it to a higher level. Mr Horn informed his Spanish counterpart about the Hungarian efforts related to European integrations.

Mr Gonzalez stressed his government supported the endeavour of the Hungarian Government to accelerate the pace of building relations with the advanced European democracies, because it is interested in Hungary's catching up with the main currents of European development.

The two foreign ministers confirmed mutual interest in the continued expansion of all-European cooperation. Gyula Horn stressed the Hungarian Government was essentially interested in the early conclusion of an accord at the Vienna talks on the limitation of European armed forces.

Following the foreign ministerial negotiations, three agreements relevant from the point of view of Hungarian-Spanish relations were signed in Parliament. The agreement on the mutual protection of investments and the recognition of secondary school certificates and university degrees, as well as the industrial cooperation protocol were initialed by the competent ministers.

News Conference Held

LD0911214889 Budapest MTI in English
1923 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—The official visit to Hungary of Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez was an outstanding event of top-level dialogue between Hungary and Spain, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth told a press conference in Budapest on Thursday.

Mr Nemeth emphasized that Felipe Gonzalez was the first Spanish premier to visit this country and the first prime minister received in the Republic of Hungary. The talks were sincere and businesslike, Mr Nemeth said. The Spanish prime minister assured the Hungarian government of his support which was also reconfirmed by the three agreements signed on energetic and technical cooperation, the mutual protection of investments, and cultural cooperation envisaging study trips to Spain by Hungarian industrial managers and the mutual recognition of university degrees.

Mr Gonzalez said he got familiar with a political process that would influence central Europe as a whole. He pointed out that political cooperation between the two countries had some traditions, now the sides should pay more attention to economic ties. It was agreed that Hungarian and Spanish firms would undertake to implement joint projects within the Eureka programme, and Spanish companies take part in extending Hungary's telecommunication network. The sides discussed the ways of deepening cooperation in the machine tool industry.

Mr Gonzalez said that the Spanish diplomacy would give every assistance so that Hungary's talks on institutionalizing cooperation with the European communities, the Council of Europe and the G-24 yield success.

In reply to a question, Mr Nemeth said that peaceful transition and multi-party democracy in Hungary are threatened from the side of the economy. The past months have witnessed rapid progress in the reform of political institutions, now the country should create, at least so quickly, the legal conditions of economic reform. The political conditions of peaceful transition have been guaranteed, now a market-based economy and its institutions should be established. The government has worked out an economic strategy but it has been refused by the trade unions and the opposition parties. Decision lies with parliament, the prime minister said.

Although Spain's transition from dictatorship to democracy was a model-like process, the copying of models has never and nowhere led to success, Mr Nemeth said. Spain had to change only its political system while Hungary requires a change in its economy as well, he said.

In reply to a question, the prime ministers stressed that both the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO should start from the principle of sufficient security and adopt the principle of sufficient defence. They agreed that the two military blocs should be transformed into policy-making organizations. On this score, Mr Nemeth referred to a recent decision by the Warsaw Treaty. Both Spain and Hungary strive to establish a world in which the military blocs can be disbanded without balance being upset, he said.

Horvath Meets Spanish Counterparts

LD0911215289 Budapest MTI in English
1813 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—Jose Claudio Aranzadi Martinez, Spanish minister of industry and energy, accompanying Felipe Gonzalez during his visit to Hungary, held talks with Ferenc Horvath, minister of industry, on Thursday. The two ministers agreed that two-way trade should be diversified and its pattern adjusted to the endowments of the two countries. The Hungarian side emphasized its preparedness to establish further productive joint ventures, cooperate in sales on third markets, and take part in the investment projects of the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona.

Apolonio Ruiz Ligero, state secretary of trade at the Ministry of Economy and Finance, held talks with Tibor Melega, deputy minister of trade, on bilateral ties and on relations with the European communities.

Gonzalez Departs After Talks

LD0911215489 Budapest MTI in English
1811 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 9 (MTI)—Concluding his official visit to Hungary, Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez Marquez left Budapest late in the afternoon on Thursday.

At Ferihegy Airport, the Spanish premier was seen off by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

Socialist Party Group Departs for CEMA Meeting

LD0811211889 Budapest MTI in English
1854 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 8 (MTI)—The Central Committee secretaries in charge of economic policy of the Communist and Workers' parties of the CMEA member countries are to hold a conference in the Czechoslovak capital on November 9-10. The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Party, headed by Csaba Hamori, member of the Hungarian Socialist Party Presidium, left for Prague on Wednesday.

HSP Official Interviewed on Referendum, Election

AU0711134289 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 6 Nov 89 p 5

[Interview with Imre Forgacs, head of the Domestic Policy Department of the Hungarian Socialist Party, by correspondent "B.L": "The People Should Really Decide—The Collection of Signatures Was an Obstructive Procedure!"—date and place not given]

[Text] The National Assembly decided on holding a referendum on 26 November, and, depending on its result, on holding the presidential elections on 7 January. With this decision, the National Assembly has created a new political and constitutional law situation. What is the opinion of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] about this? We asked Imre Forgacs about this issue.

[Question] The political action of collecting some 200,000 signatures carried out by the Association of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the Union of Free Democrats [FIDESZ] became a constitutional law action and then turned into a National Assembly decision. What conclusions has the HSP drawn in this situation?

[Forgacs] It is a fact that there are enough signatures for a referendum; however, the way in which these signatures were collected does make a difference. As is well-known, the National Election Presidium questioned the authenticity of almost 90,000 signatures, and there were many people who signed the lists several times. I think that such methods give us an idea about the purity of the entire action. This collection of signatures was a dishonest and obstructive procedure on the part of the SZDSZ which can be judged on the basis of the political coordination talks because an agreement was reached here on the methods and timing of the presidential election; this action made this agreement impossible.

[Question] It transpired from the debates at that time that the timing of the presidential election was the weakest element in the negotiating logic of the two aforementioned political organizations. Although they stuck to their original positions, they gradually retreated until there was nothing else left but calling for a referendum....

[Forgacs] There is no retreat here. Both the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ signed the basic stipulation of the tripartite agreement according to which the sides take upon themselves to refrain from making unilateral steps outside the negotiations which would foil the results of those negotiations, namely the agreement signed on the presidential election. Initiating such a collection of signatures was also a political attack against the constructive forces of the Opposition Roundtable which signed the agreement. I would like to remind the readers that both the SZDSZ and the FIDESZ strongly protested the initiative of the Democratic Youth Federation [DEMISZ] for a similar collection of signatures aimed at moving the talks out of deadlock. At the time, these very organizations rejected this initiative by claiming that the political action of the DEMISZ was equivalent to breaking up the roundtable talks.

The proposed referendum on four issues is a particular form of combining various political goods. It is clear that the presidential election issue presents totally different problems than the issue of abolishing the workers' militia or the issue of party organizations at workplaces. If we had to vote only about the election of the president of the Republic by means of a direct referendum, the majority of people would probably support this.

[Question] However, the Parliament has already decided on this issue. With the setting of the referendum, our population will be able to directly decide on four really important decisions for the first time.

[Forgacs] The Parliament has already decided on three out of these four issues, in harmony with the opposition demands. Therefore, I regard as political demagogy the slogan voiced during the collection of signatures in connection with the presidential election: "Let the People Decide!" The point here is precisely how to avoid that, namely the people are called to vote against their opportunity to decide on who should be the president.

[Question] However, on 26 November, the citizens can say either yes or no; their hands are not tied!

[Forgacs] All this does not change the obstructive nature of this collection of signatures. According to the real content of the SZDSZ and FIDESZ action, the often mentioned people are not suitable today to directly elect the president. In our opinion, in the current rather complex situation, it would not be desirable to make the presidential election the subject of bargaining between various parties. This would hardly be equal to the people's decision. The presidency is a national institution and the very referendum can provide its character and legitimacy. Of course, we will respect the decision of the National Assembly which stipulated a referendum on the issue of holding a referendum. However, I think that, in making this decision, the deputies were led by their respect toward the laws they created, rather than by a political or economic expedience. Let me mention as an example that the average cost of a referendum is 200 million forints; not a cheap feast.

Delaying the presidential election is unfortunate not only from the viewpoint of Hungary's domestic political stability; such a delay also threatens our economic consolidation by extending the period of uncertainty, something that no foreign investor welcomes. Therefore, we would really like the people to decide. Hopefully, in a way that the people themselves will want to elect their president on 7 January 1989. [date as published]

FRG's Kohl Makes Official Visit 9 Nov

Meets Leaders

LD0911214389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Excerpt] FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl is on an official visit to our country. The first item of his visit was a meeting with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the Council of Ministers' Office. Next Chancellor Helmut Kohl had a meeting at his Warsaw residence with Lech Walesa and Bronislaw Geremek. [passage omitted]

Mazowiecki Dinner Speech

LD0911225389 Warsaw PAP in English 2108 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 9—In speech delivered during a reception in honour of FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated in part:

We believe that the talks which we have started will lead to concrete results, as well as better understanding and search for solutions in areas which will remain open. We know that you come with good will and a wish to make an important step forward in co- existence and reconciliation between our nations.

The history of Polish-German relations date back a thousand years. There were conflicts and armed struggle which for us meant struggle for our very existence, for our national existence. But there were also long periods of peaceful co-existence, neighbourly cooperation, joint creation of the civilizational achievements of our continent.

If one talks too little about this than this is because the newest history has cast a long shadow on this better part of Polish- German past. Starting with the tragedy of the downfall of the Polish state and its partition in the 18th century and ending with the tragedy of World War Two.

The violence stirred up by the Nazi Third Reich reached their peak at that time. Poland [word indistinct] victim of armed agression on the part of Germany—the 50th anniversary of which we observed this year—and was partitioned anew and sustained tremendous material and human losses.

The intensity of human suffering cannot be expressed in any statistics. Defeat and suffering in the end also befell the German nation.

All of this cannot be erased from historical memory, let it remain in it as a warning for future generations. It is at the same time our intention and task—I think mutual—to go beyond this shadow once and for all.

I believe that along this road, which is not an easy one, one can afford to be optimistic. This optimism flows from the fact that today we do not stand in a field littered only with rubble any longer. It is hard not to appreciate the role which the message of Polish bishops to German bishops played in removing them.

Endeavours were also not lacking on the German side, among others in the Protestant church of which the 1965 memorandum was a proof of the desire to reach agreement with Poland. Also in Catholic circles, from which the memorandum of the Bensberk circle comes from.

There were such people in various political and social camps. It was them, among others, who paved the way for the treaty signed by Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany on December 7, 1970.

The political forces which on both sides brought about this treaty deserve tremendous historical merit.

The postwar history does not know many documents which enjoy so widespread support in Poland. The question of the treaty stood and continues to stand above political divisions as it concerns the most fundamental national interest: the right to life within safe borders, not questioned by anybody. This concordance stems from the deepest and the most painful experiences of our history. He who understands and respects this, can count on understanding also in Poland.

This treaty, based on the recognition of Poland's western border along the Odra and Nysa rivers, created the necessary basis for developing relations between our two countries. Despite difficulties which were surfacing in the course of its being filled with concrete contents, I think that one can already speak about its fruits.

A lasting agreement and reconciliation between our nations requires a bilateral and always renewed will of reconciliation, it should be anchored in a sufficiently broad social basis, confirmed by the voice of public opinion.

We attach particular significance to economic cooperation. It determines today the degree of cooperation of states and nations. This is all the more significant to us today as this cooperation should help us overcome our present difficulties. At the same time, this is a question which goes beyond the dimension of bilateral relations alone. The assistance we need and the cooperation we want will constitute an essential element in the entirety of European relations.

We are meeting at a time when a process of essential transformations is in progress in Poland, the Soviet Union and other countries. Together with a turn towards citizens' freedoms, demcoracy and market economy, It brings a chance for a better future of the whole continent, for building a common European home. One must not ruin this chance for it opens up prospects, unimaginable until recently, for the West and the East alike. Therefore, one should support this extremely difficult process while respecting vital needs, interests and international commitments of the sides concerned.

Even in view of their location in Central Europe, the nations of our countries, Poles and Germans, must live in harmony with each other and in mutual understanding. We are on this road and this is very important.

We determined for our part that one must make up for negligence as regards access to the German language and culture for those who identify with this tradition. At the same time, we say with full openness that there are humanitarian matters which we cannot forget or give up, that is, compensation for war victims and forced labourers.

We live in times of a breakthrough, expectations are pinned also on us to make a breakthrough in relations between our nations. We cannot disappoint these expectations. If we do not disturb each other in this, we are going to reach this common goal.

Meets Geremek

LD0911213189 Warsaw PAP in English
1958 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—A group of political and economic activists accompanying FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl on his Polish visit, including chairman of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation Bernhard Vogel, Chairman of the Federal Union of German Trade Unions DGB Ernst Breit and Bundestag deputies, met here today with Bronislaw Geremek and other deputies—members of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee.

The sides discussed transformations in Poland and prospects of relations between Poland and the FRG.

PAP First Day Roundup

LD1011020689 Warsaw PAP in English
0035 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl began today his 6-day visit to Poland.

Heading a delegation including nearly a half of his Cabinet members, high-ranking church representatives, leading men of science and culture and several dozens of economic and financial figures, Chancellor Kohl showed how seriously he treats his visit whose aim is, as he put it in a TV interview, to open up a new chapter in the history of relations with Poland.

Mazowiecki-Kohl Meeting

The first point of the programme of Kohl's Polish visit was his meeting with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. It lasted longer than it was envisaged, that is one and a half hour.

Their talks concerned both the past and the present day. The sides paid much attention to the shape of the Polish-West German relations, mainly those in economic and financial cooperation, in the coming years, PAP was told.

In the wake of the talks, Kohl told newsmen that that first talk he had with the Polish prime minister was very frank and cordial. "This is my first visit in Poland to a Polish prime minister elected by parliament in free elections. I would like to stress once more my friendly attitude towards the Polish reforms. The success of the Polish road towards democracy will be the success for the entire Europe. I am paying this visit to Poland in such a spirit," he stated.

"I think about reconciliation and our common history that had been developing very favourably for over 900 years. Unfortunately, this century, and especially the time from 1933, contains dreadful chapters. Our goal is to correct these errors keeping in mind the generation of our children," he said.

Asked to assess the meeting, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that they reviewed the Polish-German issues also from the historical point of view for it is not possible to break away from history in Polish-German talks. "After all, neither the chancellor nor myself have such an intention. For we are well aware of the burden of history on our relations. But our talk also concerned the future and economic issues. We will continue with this topic at tomorrow's meeting and at plenary talks," he said.

At Kohl's Warsaw Residence

After his talks with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Chancellor Kohl met with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and head of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP) Bronislav Geremek.

After recording the beginning of the talks, TV teams and reporters were asked to leave the residence.

At the Council of Ministers Palace

In the evening, Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki gave a dinner in honour of Chancellor Helmut Kohl during which the two politicians delivered speeches.

News Conference Held

LD1011021189 Warsaw PAP in English
0015 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—Following the first talk between Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, spokesmen for respective governments Malgorzata Niezabitowska and Hans Klein held a joint press conference at a Press Centre at the Marriott Hotel here today.

Reporting on the course of the talk Niezabitowska said that it had lasted one hour and 45 minutes and had no earlier established plan or topic. Mazowiecki evaluated his first talk with Kohl as extremely open. It provided both sides with a good opportunity to get to know each other. The two politicians mainly discussed economic issues, various forms of aid to be granted to Poland by the FRG. The chancellor handed a letter describing the details of this aid to the prime minister. Both interlocutors agreed that Poland much needed urgent aid.

The sides also discussed the border on the Odra and Nysa Rivers. Mazowiecki stressed that Poles must be sure that this issue has been finally settled.

Next the Polish premier touched upon compensation for the wrongs done to Polish citizens during World War Two, this being an issue upsetting Poles which may even create anti-German moods.

Mazowiecki also said that Poland did not agree to the division of Europe, that this division should be overcome but taking into account realities. This must be a gradual process. It is just in this gradual, evolutionary way that we should build European unity, he was reported as saying.

The sides also discussed Kohl's visit to Krzyzowa and agreed that it would serve reconciliation between Poles and Germans.

In turn Hans Klein quoted Kohl as saying that his talk with Mazowiecki was friendly and intensive. The fact that both partners shared the systems of values had a great influence on such a course of their meeting. They discussed a wide range of questions. Kohl pointed out that at the time the visit was taking place dramatic processes were going on in another German state, the GDR.

The FRG highly assessed the ongoing reforms in Poland. They are taking place also in other East European countries such as Hungary or the Soviet Union but because of many historical reasons the FRG side has been following reforms in Poland with particular friendliness. Kohl underscored that one must grant support for reforms in this country. He also pointed to the all-European dimension of processes taking place in the Eastern part of the European continent. Both sides should work to make borders lose their separating character.

In reference to the issue of compensation Klein quoted the chancellor's opinion to the effect that at present it is most important to give Poland aid to firmly support the reform process. However, compensation will be touched upon in further talks between the heads of the two governments.

Both spokesmen confirmed that, considering the importance attached to a joint declaration, the signing of the document was postponed at the request of the Polish side from the second day of the visit to the final one, which would crown it in a way.

In conclusion Klein quoted Kohl as saying that his current visit to Poland should be termed as the opening up of a new, important chapter in relations between the two countries.

Kohl To Depart 10 Nov

LD1011094689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] The West German Government is to hold an extraordinary meeting on the question of refugees from the German Federal Republic [as heard] who, after the virtual opening of the borders, last night crossed en masse or left for West Berlin. In connection with this Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who since yesterday has been in Poland, is returning for several hours to Bonn for the government meeting. As his spokesman, Hans Klein, stated, it was only a break in the visit, which would most probably be continued on Saturday afternoon or evening.

This morning the chancellor placed a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier and at the monument to the heroes of Warsaw [from the Second World War], the 'Nike'. Here on Theater Square, members of the Association of People Wronged by the Third Reich appeared, carring a banner with the inscription: We demand compensation for the wrongs inflicted by the Third Reich. Chancellor Kohl also laid a wreath at the monument to the ghetto heroes.

Here's another telex confirming what I have just said. During an incidental meeting with the delegation accompanying Chancellor Helmut Kohl, he stated that he was leaving for Bonn after a meeting with Preisdent Wojciech Jaruzelski. However, he said, I want to continue this visit, which has been prepared for so long. I am returning to Poland on Saturday evening. I hope that the development of unforeseen events will not hamper this. I will continue the program exactly as planned.

Hans Dietrich Genscher, the Deputy Chancellor and the Federal foreign minister, will remain in Warsaw, as well as the remaining members of the German Federal Government delegation.

Kohl Departs

LD1011131389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] A moment ago we received the news that Chancellor Kohl has taken off from Warsaw, breaking off his visit in Poland due to the situation in the GDR.

Warsaw Comments on Kohl Plans

LD1011150289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Unidentified announcer] We are going to discuss Chancellor Kohl's decision [to suspend his Poland visit] with Boleslaw Broszczak, our commentator on German issues. Is it an event without precedence in the history of international relations?

[Broszczak] No. Of course not. There have been such examples—many times in history. Unfortunately, the difference, and the specific character, if one may say, of the present one is due to the fact that the head of a government is breaking off a trip due to developments in another state of that same nation—of that same German nation. The question might naturally be asked, why did he break off that journey to Poland, seeing as he himself said that it was a very important trip, that is was a trip with an historical dimension. I think the [word indistinct] is very simple. First, he left, he decided to make the trip, despite the fact that the West German press—and I remember speaking very extensively about this on Wednesday's panorama and the world program—said that there was a possibility that it would be as nervous a trip as the trip by Gorbachev to Bonn was, when he was always on the telephone.

[Announcer, interrupting] Because of Armenia.

[Broszczak] Because of the Armenian and Azerbaijan issue in the Soviet Union. The fact that he decided to make the trip, that the talks that have been held have been held, and that he will return to Poland on Saturday afternoon is proof that the importance of this trip has not been reduced. And thus it is understandable that for the head of the West German state, that the events in the other German state, for both national and state reasons, are more important than a trip to Poland, which is also important. We ought to look at this very calmly and very coolly. It is quite simply the logic of events, the logic of the situation.

[Announcer] But what will be the outcome of this decision for the further development of events in Poland, for our state and nation?

[Broszczak] When one looks at television, at what is being transmitted by satellite television, naturally the German-GDR subject dominates. It looks very severe and, quite simply, provokes one to make final judgements, final decisions. One could say...

[Announcer, interrupting] The beginning of German unification.

[Broszczak] Yes the beginning of German unification, the total dismantling of the East German state. I think, that here one should, approach it in a more moderate and restrained manner. However, the fundamental matter is another one, namely, we know now 100 percent, we have finally been convinced about this, that the formula of constructing, the survival of a state, based exclusively on ideological premises, has absolutely no raison d'etre in this madly quickly changing Europe. Everything that has been built there in the GDR in 40 years is at present being totally dismantled. And it is not for us to think about whether reunification will result or not.

Naturally, we ought to acknowledge that it is an enormous step in that direction, however, it is worth thinking about how the position of our German, or precisely West German partner, will look after these events. And those events are incredibly favorable both personally for the chancellor and for the raison d'etat of the FRG. It is worth listening to what is being said by the whole world, what is being said in the great capitals, but whether we should be afraid of that, whether we should consider that, which we have been frightened by in the past years, namely the spectre of a united Germany, I don't think so. In conclusion, it is worth recalling the words of Professor Skubiszewski, our minister of foreign affairs, that the unification of Germany is a matter for the Germans themselves, but not only the Germans themselves, also of their neighbors and also of the whole of Europe. Remembering this, we ought to strive, and above all and at whatever price, to ensure that Poland has a strong position in this great European family. [passage omitted]

Spokesman on Kohl Departure

LD1011153789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the ministers of foreign affairs, as well as the heads of the relevant ministries, have signed today in Warsaw, in the Foreign Ministry, in the presence of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Chancellor Helmut Kohl, five agreements between the Polish and Federal German Republic governments. [passage omitted]

Just after the conclusion of the signing, Zdzislaw (Molak) asked one of the participants for an interview:

[Begin recording] [(Molak)] At my microphone, Mr Stefan Staniszewski, the press spokesman for the [Polish] Foreign Ministry.

[Staniszewski] Today Chancellor Kohl and West German ministers, who are taking part in his visit, will return to Bonn in connection with the situation in the GDR and on the FRG-GDR border, and tomorrow evening they ought to return to finish the visit.

[(Molak)] The delegation remains and the ministers and the chancellor are flying off to Bonn, yes?

[Staniszewski] The chancellor, ministers, and some higher officials are leaving for Bonn. Part of the delegation is remaining.

[(Molak)] But Chancellor Kohl has promised he will return.

[Staniszewski] We think he will certainly return. [end recording] [passage omitted]

FRG Spokesman on Kohl Departure

LD1011173489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Statement by Dieter Vogel, deputy spokesman of FRG Government, in German with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] Helmut Kohl has informed Premier Mazowiecki that because of the situation in the GDR opening the borders and thousands of people crossing from one part of Germany to another—he had to briefly interrupt his visit. Today he will depart for the FRG but he hopes to return to Warsaw tomorrow evening to complete the agenda of his visit.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki expressed his profound understanding for the current situation and Chancellor Kohl is most grateful for this. Helmut Kohl stated clearly that this event will in no way hamper Polish-German relations. With the visit a significant possibility has opened up to improve and strengthen relations between our countries. Premier Mazowiecki agrees with this stance too. The talks the chancellor and West German ministers held with their Polish colleagues before noon today demonstrated once again that there exists a great covergence of views, particularly with regard to economic and political matters. Eleven agreements have been signed between Poland and the FRG, and when we leave Warsaw once again on 14 November, I hope it will be after the signing of the joint Polish-German government declaration.

Press Briefing on Visit

LD1011203389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, as we already mentioned earlier, Government Spokesman Malgorzata Niezabitowska today held a press conference in connection with the visit to Poland by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Here is our report:

[Begin recording] [Niezabitowska] To begin, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to brief you on the talks between Premier Mazowiecki and Chancellor Kohl this morning. It began with Chancellor Kohl describing the situation in the GDR and requesting, in connection with that, an interruption of the visit for the duration of more or less 24 hours in view of the Chancellor's wish, or even the necessity for him to be in Berlin, at a rally, and subsequently a session of the FRG Cabinet, which will take place tomorrow and which is discussing [words indistinct] situation in the GDR and the necessary technical and economic actions in connection with the growing wave of refugees. Premier Mazowiecki responded to that with complete understanding.

Next, Chancellor Kohl asked Premier Mazowiecki about the current state of church-state relations. The Premier emphasized the stabilizing role of the church and the full support of the Polish Episcopate for Premier Mazowiecki's government and an understanding of the difficulties the government faces.

The second issue that was raised, also at Chancellor Kohl's request, was the issue of self-government. The Chancellor has been greatly interested in this issue for a long time. Premier Mazowiecki presented the role of future self-government bodies for the democratization of life in Poland and the actions that are currently being taken. In his turn, Chancellor Kohl shared his experiences concerning self-government organizations both in Western Europe and, in particular, in the FRG.

The third subject that was dealt with during these talks were economic issues. But, strictly speaking, their development took place during the plenary session. Consequently I shall not (?deal with this) in detail.

At the plenary session, Premier Mazowiecki proposed that the Polish side present the main economic problems, because economic cooperation determines the degree of cooperation between states and peoples. Chancellor Kohl asked for understanding of the necessity to interrupt the visit, emphasizing that none of the visit's importance is lost. The development of the situation in the GDR, the Chancellor said, became possible thanks to what has happened and is continuing to happen in Poland, and also in Hungary. We are greatly interested in your success, he said, it is in the interests not only of the FRG but also of the whole of Europe.

From Sunday there will be a continution in accordance with the program, with necessary changes. One such change is the transfer of the meeting with President Jaruzelski to 1900 on Sunday.

Premier Mazowiecki emphasized and reiterated the Polish side's complete understanding for the necessity to interrupt Chancellor Kohl's visit.

Next, Deputy Premier Balcerowicz concentrated on several financial problems, first and foremost on the government Hermes guarantees which we received in the sum of DM (?3) billion for a period of 2 years, and within this amount DM 0.5 billion of the FRG's contribution to a stabilizing loan from the International Monetary Fund.

Next, Deputy Premier Balcerowicz said that we would like 10 per cent of the FRG's total commitment, that is about DM 300 million, to be available for use under simplified procedure.

Some DM 760 million will be waived, and DM 570 million will be substituted by a conversion [words indistinct], but the calculation of this conversion will be as from 15 November 1990 and will continue until 1999. This is done so as not to flood the Polish market with another large amount of money. The FRG banks are the main participants in the London Club, and the deputy premier hoped that they will present a constructive stance as regards the postponement and partial waiving of the repayment of interest and also [words indistinct] of our indebtedness to the London banks. Minister Swecicki has mentioned the issue of customs preferences and decrease in the limitations imposed on our exports [words indistinct] has been abolished by EEC as from 1 January 1990, but there still remain quotas on steel, agricultural and food processing, and textile industries. All subjects tackled during the plenary talks will continue to be tackled during the talks which start on Monday.

[Wysocki] Adam Wysocki from Radio Polonia. I would like to ask if there is any concern that, as a result of the recent events in GDR, the opening of the German border, the interest of the economic spheres in cooperation with Poland might weaken?

[Niezabitowska] The economic potential of the FRG is so great that the issue of GDR, and possible new assistance for GDR, will not hamper it.

[Unidentified journalist] Is there concrete agreement on when the Chancellor is to return to Poland, or will it be the subject of an agreement?

[Niezabitowska] The Chancellor announced he would return tomorrow evening.

[Journalist] Was the subject of German reunification discussed during the talks between the Chancellor and Premier Mazowiecki or between Minister Skubiszewski and Minister Genscher, and what is the stance of the Polish Government on this issue?

[Niezabitowska] It is the stance of the Polish Government that we acknowledge the right of every nation to self-determination, including the German nation. On the other hand, if such a reunification is to take place a number of conditions must be fulfilled. The first is that the will of Germans living in both German states must be expressed, and both these states must be treated equally. Next, there must be an agreement of the Four Powers, who are still empowered to decide jointly about Germany as a whole.

Next, the issue of reunification of Germany has to be considered within the pan-European context, and there have to be guarantees here that a new united Germany, as an undoubtedly mighty state, would not threaten European security and cooperation. And here, of course, we have a fundamental matter for Poland, namely the permanence of the border on the Odra and Nysa, because one should not confuse two issues—the issue of reunification and the issue of the borders. The German states can reunite solely and exclusively within their present borders. Any other solution is out of the question. [end recording]

Kohl Returns to Warsaw

LD1111171789 Warsaw PAP in English
1646 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 11—Following a 27-hour break caused by a departure brought about by events in the GDR, FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl continues his official visit to Poland. He landed once again at Warsaw's Okecie Airport shortly before 1700 hours.

Views Warsaw Talks, Berlin

LD1111174789 Hamburg DPA in German
1656 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—"I am pleased that my Polish interlocutors have experienced me keeping my word—I am back," Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl said as he left the special Luftwaffe plane late this afternoon in very foggy weather. "I have hardly been to bed. I first have to order my thoughts."

He reported to correspondents on his phone calls to leading statesmen in the East and West. During these, he had spoken of the "satisfactorily started visit to Warsaw" and in particular had passed on the Polish side's wish for the negotiations between Poland and the IMF to be brought to a conclusion very quickly. That has to happen in the "coming weeks—not in a few weeks."

Reporting on his experiences in Berlin, the chancellor said, "It is a happy hour for us Germans." It was like "the stadium opening and the masses coming out after an international game." It perhaps was difficult for outsiders to understand what the Germans were feeling at the moment. "In spite of all the terrible things Poland has experienced, its capital,thank God, had not been divided." What is happening now is "an incredible and fantastic moment, not only for every German."

Hamburg DPA Account

LD1211143189 Hamburg DPA in German
1309 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Krzyzowa (DPA)—The heads of government of the Federal Republic and Poland demonstratively embraced each other as a sign of reconciliation at a mass today on the former estate of the opponent of Hitler, Count Helmuth James von Moltke, at Krzyzowa in Lower Silesia. For Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, the Catholic ceremony was the moral high point of his trip to Poland. Bishop of Opole Alfons Nossol welcomed "the two Christian Democrat heads of government" Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Kohl in front of the open-air altar. They sat beside each other on the altar dais. Before communion they exchanged the Christian sign of peace with an embrace to applause from the crowd. In Poland, this sign of peace is understood as the faithful smiling at one another and shaking hands. In addition to this, Kohl and Mazowiecki embraced each other demonstratively to applause from the crowd.

After the service the chancellor said that everyone felt "that this is an important moment in the life of our nations. We felt history. It was there—on this very spot at the center of Europe." The mutual greeting of reconciliation should "not remain without consequences: Let us depart from this altar into a good and peaceful future, blessed by God, for the Poles, the Germans, and all of us in Europe." Mazowiekci said this feeling of Christian fraternity between the two nations must continue after the participants return from this service in Krzyzowa.

Around 7,000 people came to the mass including many Germans from the "German Friendship Circles", which are officially still not permitted, with banners and a brass band. They demanded German schools and church services, among other things. "We Silesians demand our rights," "We have been hoping for 45 years" was written on other banners. They chanted: "Helmut, think of us". [passage omitted]

Attends 'Mass of Reconciliation'

LD1211174889 Warsaw PAP in English
1555 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] Wroclaw, Nov. 12—"The mass in Krzyzowa, said in Polish and German, was a real mass of reconciliation. It was a very significant moment in the lives of our nations. We met here to give each other a sign of reconciliation in the name of good peaceful future of both our nations and all people in Europe," said Chancellor Kohl after the mass celebrated in a Lower Silesian village.

"We attended this mass with seriousness and in the spirit of brotherhood. We are bound to this brotherhood and obliged to those who used to gather in Krzyzowa," Premier Mazowiecki said on his part.

Meets With Jaruzelski

LD1211185189 Hamburg DPA in German 1825 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Polish State President Wojciech Jaruzelski met in Warsaw this evening. This was the conversation which was originally planned for Friday, but which had to be postponed at short notice since Kohl returned to the Federal Republic because of the events in the GDR. [passage omitted]

Speaks at Jasna Gora Monastery

LD1211193489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Chancellor Helmut Kohl, accompanied by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, this afternoon arrived at the monastery of Pauline Fathers at Jasna Gora in Czestochowa. Our correspondent reports:

[Unidentified correspondent] The clock on the monastry tower is showing 1500. A motocade is approaching the main gate. FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl is getting out of the car. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki is present. They are greeted with applause.

A brief mass is held in front of the miraculous painting of the Czestochowa Virgin Mary. Helmut Kohl and Tadeusz Mazowiecki are taking part in it.

A solemn ceremony was held in the monastery library. Father Jozef Platek, general of Pauline Fathers, takes the floor. [passage omitted]

[Begin Kohl recording in German with superimposed Polish translation] Father General, Mr Premier, ladies and gentlemen.

For me and for those accompanying me, it is a great honor to be able to visit this distinguished place today, although for a short time only. I would like to thank you briefly for the very nice reception, for the gift, and for the hour I was able to spend here. There are hours in one's life which is best to forget very quickly, and there are hours which remain in one's memory forever. For me this hour happened during our visit to the Ghetto Monument in Warsaw. For all this has been a part of our history, but, naturally, this is not enough. The issue is work for peace. The issue is work for reconciliation. The issue perhaps is to return to the old and best traditions of our continent. And the issue is for us—Germans and Poles—to give an example now on how to overcome the division of Europe. Walls and borders—all must be eradicated. Freedom of nations and peace on our continent will contribute in this way to peace throughout the world. I sincerely thank you, from the bottom of my heart, for this hour. [applause] [end recording]

[Announcer] Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of the FRG, and Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who was accompanying him, ended their brief 1-2 hour visit to the sanctuary of Virgin Mary in Jasna Gora with a sightseeing tour of the most important and interesting buildings of the Jasna Gora Monastery complex of Pauline Fathers in Czestochowa.

More on Jaruzelski-Kohl Meeting

LD1211201289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Text] President Wojciech Jaruzelski, accompanied by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, this evening met FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The parties discussed the process of normalization and the development of relations between Poland and the FRG based on the unshakeable foundations of the treaty of 1970, as well as issues of European cooperation. They stressed the significance of positive political, moral, and material facts, and building up mutual confidence and respect, which are an indispensable condition for overcoming hitherto divisions, for real reconciliation, and are an important element in the construction of a Common European Home.

It was stressed that the inviolability of borders, respect for territorial integrity, and the sovereignty of all European states, resultng from the spirit and letter of the CSCE Final Act constitutes the basic condition for peace and the harmonious development of European cooperation. The will to intensify the development of bilateral cooperation in many areas, particularly the economic area, was expressed. President Wojciech Jaruzelski raised the problem of compensating Polish victims of Nazi crimes and Polish forced labor in the Third Reich.

Talks Termed 'Intensive, Frank'

LD1311003689 Hamburg DPA in German 2312 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Warsaw (DPA)—According to Government Spokesman Hans Klein, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and the Polish State President Wojciech Jaruzelski this evening held unusually intensive and frank talks, lasting over 3-1/2 hours, on the situation in the GDR. Jaruzelski enquired about the possible repercussions for Poland of the German domestic developments. Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzystof Skubiszewski also took part in the discussion. [passage omitted]

The state president and Kohl discussed the controversial question of Poland's western border. According to Klein, both sides endeavored to bring their views closer together, in spite of the conflict of opinions on this matter. Jaruzelski noted during the discussion that complicated questions had previously been "treated with a considerable degree of antagonism". Today, he and Kohl could "talk like two doctors discussing a therapy".

Klein almost completely excluded the possibility of a premature end to the chancellor's stay in Poland, which is scheduled to last until Tuesday [14 November] evening. "Things would have to be very dramatic for that," said the government spokesman. [passage omitted]

PAP on Klein Remarks

LD1311010989 Warsaw PAP in English
0026 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 12—Federal Chief of the Office for Press and Information Hans Klein informed journalists about the 3.5-hour conversation between Helmut Kohl and Wojciech Jaruzelski. He called it "extremely intensive, very open and marked by friendly closeness."

Both statesmen talked about the dramatic events in the GDR, the reformist processes in Poland and the potential effects on Polish-FRG relations of the concentration of West-German attention on the developments between Odra and Elbe Rivers.

Kohl assured his interlocutors that he saw interrelations between the events in the GDR and other Eastern European countries: He was sure that without reforms in Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union there would be no changes in the GDR. The chancellor expressed an opinion that the durability of Polish reforms is a premise for many processes taking place in Europe and affects the pace of disarmament. In this context he mentioned the Vienna talks now under way.

President Jaruzelski said the disputable questions had been in the past solved in the atmosphere of antagonism. Today it is like two doctors discussing the best therapy, how to protect political and economic stability. The president informed the chancellor that he watched the mass in Krzyzowa on TV and was under a deep impression. He stressed the role of Kohl's visit for Poland, the FRG, and Europe. The chancellor also pointed out the historic dimension of his Polish visit.

Wojciech Jaruzelski described the situation between both nations as favourable. Poland, for the first time in many years, has good relations with the East and West. The president spoke with recognition about Prime Minister Mazowiecki, a man most respected in Poland after Pope John Paul 2.

The president assured about his readiness to protect the Polish reforms against radical trends.

The FRG Government spokesman also said that both sides had thoroughly exchanged their own views on the question of the Odra-Nysa border which contributed to a better understanding of both states' motives.

Calls for 'European Peace Order'

LD1311100789 Hamburg DPA in German
0902 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] Lublin (DPA)—Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl has called for a "just and lasting European peace order." in which "the German people also regain their unity in free self-determination." While receiving an honorary doctorate from the Catholic University of Lublin, Kohl said today, against the background of developments in the GDR, that the answer from the Germans in the Federal Republic to the German question "was European from the beginning and will remain European."

Obviously to allay misgivings abroad on the question of reunification, Kohl stated in his keynote speech: "We say 'yes' to our membership in the European Community and in the Atlantic Alliance. Both are indisputable and a part of the reasons of the state of the Federal Republic of Germany. We are a part of the community of values of the free peoples."

Kohl was thankful that prominent Poles had been among the first "to quite naturally" call for freedom and self-determination also for the Germans in the GDR. The Polish people understood as no other "that the historically grown unity of a nation cannot be smashed artificially; that a policy that is set at the division of nations is unhistorical and therefore lacks credibility already."

Kohl reaffirmed that the European Community had to approach all the states of Central and Eastern Europe that, as Poland, had started with a far-reaching restructuring in politics, the economy, and society, with imaginativeness and flexibility. "Europe is incomplete and not imaginable without Poland. Europe needs a free Poland, a free Germany—the joint freedom of our peoples," Kohl said.

FRG's Genscher Holds Talks in Warsaw

LD0911213789 Warsaw PAP in English
2001 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—Polish-FRG talks, chaired by Polish and FRG Foreign Ministers Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, were held at the foreign Ministry's here today. [sentence as received] The talks were preceded by a 15-minute face-to-face meeting of both ministers.

During the talks, minister Skubiszewski assumed a positive attitude towards the last Bundestag resolution confirming guarantees for Poland's western border, assessing it an important step forward in relations between both states.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski acquainted his guest with the question of civil and legal damages for Polish citizens who had been forced laborers in the Third Reich. He referred to his reply to a deputy's question, stressing that the problem of damages was broader and concerned also the USSR. Genscher said that Chancellor Kohl would discuss this question with premier Mazowiecki.

Both sides discussed also questions of bilateral relations, including: scholarships for Polish scientists, Polish language teaching in the FRG, the access of Germans of Polish origin and Poles to FRG mass media.

They examined also the care of Polish national remembrance sites in the FRG and the need for facilitations in the tourist traffic. Minister Skubiszewski raised the question of regulations concerning the employment of Polish citizens in the FRG and increasing the limit of work places now amounting to 10,500.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher invited Krzysztof Skubiszewski to pay a visit to FRG.

After the talks, both ministers signed a protocol on consultations between Polish and FRG Governments.

Both sides signed an agreement on setting up general consulates- - the Polish one in Hamburg and the FRG one in Krakow.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Krzysztof Skubiszewski will conduct their talks tomorrow.

Czyrek on Genscher Meeting

LD1011022589 Warsaw PAP in English 0032 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—Commenting on his meeting here on Thursday with FRG's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Polish Minister of State Jozef Czyrek said:

"The special value of the meeting consists in that these were not official talks but more like an exchange of views on various questions. I can say with satisfaction that our views on various matters are very approximate or even common, like on that question of speeding up the process of mutual rapprochement, both of individual countries and of the east and west in general."

Walesa-Genscher Meeting

LD1011113789 Warsaw PAP in English 1015 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 10—FRG's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who accompanies Chancellor Helmut Kohl, met this morning with Lech Walesa and Bronislaw Geremek at a breakfast at his residence here. The vice-chancellor spoke with great recognition about the processes taking place in Warsaw.

Walesa, asked by journalists about his view on the opening of the FRG-GDR border by the GDR authorities, said that it was a decision which ought to have been taken earlier. The dramatism of the events in the GDR is the results of an earlier negligence.

"It is so when one is late for the train of the history," said the leader of the "Solidarnosc" who today is leaving Poland for a visit to the United States and Canada.

Genscher-Skubiszewski Second Meeting

LD1011141189 Warsaw PAP in English 1255 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 10—Polish and FRG Foreign Ministers Kryzysztof Skubiszewski and Hans-Dietrich Genscher held their second meeting here today.

The talk focused on the European problematique [as received], especially on the German issues and the implications for the policy of both states and for Europe stemming from it.

Minister Genscher stated that the situation which emerged in the GDR should not create threats to the stabilisation in Europe. The development of situation in Eastern Europe cannot be used by the Western European countries for their own purposes. All countries of Europe should realise the responsibility which they bear. The FRG does not forward an initiative of forming anew a single German national state. Nationalism was fought down and there is no return to the former German state. The only solution of the German issue is such development of the situation in Europe which will not breach the treaties signed with Moscow and Warsaw.

Minister Skubiszewski said that Poland recognises Germany's right to self-determination. It is a broader problem which concerns not only both German states, but also the four superpowers, Germany's neighbours and all states of Europe. "We appreciate the FRG stand that it does not want to use the current situation for its own aims," the minister said.

The Polish minister also said that Poland does not intend to interfere with the internal affairs of the GDR. "We are interested in the development of the situation in that state and we are ready to assist it, but we are against the destabilisation of the GDR," Minister Skubiszewski added.

The talk touched upon the Polish-Swedish initiative to convene a conference of heads of government of the Baltic states on environmental protection. Minister Genscher positively assessed that idea pointing to the need for application of more concrete measures.

Lunch With Walesa, Geremek

LD1011204889 Warsaw PAP in English 1849 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 10—FRG Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher accompanying the FRG chancellor on his visit to Poland, today met with Lech Walesa and Bronislaw Geremek whom he treated to lunch at his residence.

Genscher spoke with tremendous respect about the processes taking place in Poland.

Asked by newsmen what he thought about the opening of the border by GDR authorities, Walesa stated that this was a decision which should have been taken earlier.

"The dramatic nature of the events in the GDR is the result of earlier negligence. Such is the case when someone is late for the train of history", the Solidarnosc leader said.

Jaruzelski Letter to FRG's Von Weizsaecker

AU1311092489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Nov 89 p 2

["Reply from the President of the PPR to a Message from the President of the FRG"]

[Text] Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski's answer to the message from FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker sent on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II was conveyed to the office of the FRG President in Bonn today:

Esteemed Mr President! I have read very carefully your letter to me, written on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Hitlerite invasion of Poland, for 1 September 1939 is a memorable date for all the peoples of the world, especially for the Poles and Germans.

Thank you, Mr President, for this message and the noble intentions expressed in it. I also vividly remember the speech that you made on the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, a speech marked by penetrating historical reflection and addressed to the future.

I fully share your point of view that the immense suffering of the Polish nation and the magnitude of the material losses inflicted upon Poland by the Third Reich require that official agreements between our peoples and countries be accompanied by an awareness of what we should define as "particular moral sensibility."

In this context, I welcome with recognition the appropriate and very valid statement in your letter that the costs of this war are still being paid by the Polish people today.

In particular, one should remember that there are several million Poles still alive in our country who suffered directly because of the Hitlerite occupation, including almost 1 million people who were sent to forced labor in the German reich, shipped to concentration camps, and lawlessly deprived of their life's achievements, and even those of generations.

I have received and still receive many letters from citizens calling for more energetic action aimed at material and moral compensation to the victims of the Hitlerite terror and exploitation, and for a removal of the discriminatory barriers on the road to a solution that is fair to the Polish people. This is still a topical and painful problem for my compatriots, and a social fact of broad extent. It casts a shadow on the credibility of some statements, including official statements, from your country.

So far, we have not highlighted the truth that by fighting for their country's liberation on all the fronts of World War II, the Poles also contributed to the liberation of the German people, and thus to the establishment of the conditions for rebuilding its present position on the basis of antifascist and democratic principles.

In the speech I delivered in Wroclaw in May 1985, as well as on other occasions, I expressed my understanding for the misfortune which also befell Germans as a result of the war that was started by the Third Reich, including those Germans who had to leave their homeland. I stress, however, that the historic reconciliation of the two nations can only take place on the basis of respect—in words and in deeds—for the inviolability of the postwar territorial order in Europe and the elimination of that which disturbs the atmosphere of our mutual relations. It would be very harmful for their development and extremely dangerous for the European peaceful order if 45 years after the war, ideas about "temporary borders," "provisional solutions," and artificial legal principles were resurrected and included in political doctrines.

Thus, I welcomed with satisfaction the assurances contained in your message that the FRG will observe the spirit and letter of the 7 December 1970 treaty, in which the FRG Government recognized the Odra and Nysa Rivers as the Western border of the Polish People's Republic, and undertook not to put forth any territorial claims vis-a-vis Poland, and also in the future. This seems to be especially important in connection with the distressing content of statements by those politicians in your country who continue to see Germany within the 1937 borders of the Third Reich.

It is Polish society's sincere wish that your respectable stance be fully and permanently shared by all the political forces in the FRG that have a direct and indirect influence on relations with Poland. A rejection of force in mutual relations, a recognition of the sovereignty of states, an inviolability of postwar borders, and an awareness of the rights of peoples to live in security present for us the foundation for peace, stabilization, and cooperation in Europe.

I also have in mind military-political issues. I think that during the forthcoming Vienna meeting, both our countries will be able to make a joint contribution to a concept of European security spreading to successive centuries.

The deep transformations in our country, leading toward a full implementation of universal democratic ideals, as well as essential social and economic reforms, may favor the stabilization and security of our continent. Poland is opening itself to the Europe of the future. It has the right to expect that Europe will open itself toward Poland.

I am of the opinion that the potential possibilities of our countries in building new forms of European cooperation, especially in the light of the changes planned after 1992, have not been fully used yet. It is our intention to have the FRG become an important partner for Poland in all fields. We are especially counting on a faster development of financial and economic cooperation. It could contribute to the favorable implementation of our reforms, as well as to an acceleration of the process of accord and reconciliation. What Goethe described as a "moment which should last a long time" depends to a considerable degree on the future shape of our new relations.

Esteemed Mr President! We want the approaching visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl to be an important episode in the process of normalizing PPR-FRG relations that was started 19 years ago, and an important step on the road to a national reconciliation.

I hope both our governments succeed in overcoming the difficulties that still exist and attaining mutually advantageous accords and solutions, without detriment to the interests of either side.

I also express my conviction that the time when we will be host to you, Mr Federal President, on Polish soil is not too away.

Please accept my invitation for you to pay an official visit to Poland. You may count on traditional, sincere hospitality from my countrymen.

Editor Examines Polish-German Relations

AU1211184789 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Nov 89 p 1

[Commentary by Adam Michnik, GAZETA WYBORCZA editor in chief: "It Is Not Case of Aid for Poland"]

[Text] Polish-German relations are particularly complicated and they will remain so. We would like to believe that the lessons of Nazism will never be forgotten. The exceptional nature of this experience has influenced the whole of European thinking on politics and values. Hitlerism was to have rendered Poland impotent for all time. Hitler's aggression and the subsequent defeat of Hitlerism decided the present shape of the Polish state. This shape is now irrevocably final. Not because of the fact that Poles inhabited these western territories hundreds of years before, but because the Nazi aggression brought in its wake certain faits accomplis that allowed the victors—and especially Stalin—to dictate the new shape of Poland's frontiers. No Pole will allow these borders to be changed.

The brutality of the Hitlerite occupation of Poland has left Poles with a strong anti-German complex. The propaganda of the Stalinist times and later periods made use of this complex. The German theme became an instrument of political blackmail, and this blackmail was intertwined with the inculcation of hate. We were taught to hate Germans (with the exception of the GDR Communists) and this hate was intended to make us obedient subjects of a totalitarian system. Our defiance was classed as providing "water for the West German revindicationists' mill" and such blackmail was to ensure our compliance.

The letter sent by the Polish bishops to their German counterparts in the autumn of 1965 became a historical watershed, and we would do well to remember this letter today. This noble, wise, and far-seeing letter broke the psychological barrier and introduced new perspectives of thought about Polish-German relations. Slowly, we became aware that there were various kinds of Germans—those who were fleeing and those who were hunting them down—those who had ordered the hangings and those who were hung—Hitler and Boenhoffer, Goebels and Thomas Mann. There were those who preferred to say "polnisher Wirtshaft" [German words as published], and those who after 13 December 1981 sent aid parcels to Poland. That is why Chancellor Kohl's meeting with Premier Mazowiecki in Krzyzowa will refer to the best of all possible symbols, namely, that the Germans associated with the Kreisau Group lay down their lives in a struggle for a political order to be based on democratic and Christian values. Ryszard Wojna has correctly stated that "the symbolism of Krzyzowa could become the turning point in Polish-German relations."

It is worthwhile to recall that this turning point has its opponents in Germany and Poland. Polish and German chauvinists will continue to cultivate enmity; it only suffices to read some of the FRG republican party publications, or the extremist publications of the radically nationalist groups in Poland.

We want to see a breakthrough in Polish-German relations. We consider that the Germans have a right to have their state, and obstinate support for the remnants of the Stalinist order in the GDR—as a guarantee of the existing division—is not in the Polish interest. The unification of Germany is a matter for the Germans. A decisive and determining voice has to belong to the citizens of the GDR, who, with great courage and resilience—which can only elicit respect and admiration—are fighting for their freedom. The unification of Germany is also a matter for the whole of Europe—a Europe that desires peace and secure boundaries.

In Polish-German relations there is no place for "blank spots." The matter of the German minority in Poland should not be made out to be such a "blank spot." In the framework of the democratic process, every group of citizens in the Polish state must have the possibility of satisfying its religious, national, and cultural needs. Nevertheless, this matter ought not to become the subject of bargaining between governments. Moreover, it cannot become an instrument used to exert pressure on the Polish Government. Past use of this issue by former German governments has a very bad history and we must all fully realize this fact.

The current discussions will no doubt be linked to economic cooperation. In conclusion, let us state clearly that it is not a mere question of "aid to Poland"; it is a matter of expressing support for the process of antitotalitarianism evolution in Eastern and central Europe. It is also a matter of the democratic future of our continent, and it is through this prism that we must see the future of the relationship between our two peoples.

'Thousands' of Poles Seek To Emigrate to GDR

LD0911150589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1444 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Thousands of Polish citizens have sought information in the past few days from the GDR diplomatic representations in Warsaw, Szczecin, Gdansk and Wroclaw on the possibilities of finding employment or resettling in the gdr.

Dr Peter Krause, head of the GDR Embassy's Consular Department in Warsaw, told ADN on Thursday that they cited as the main reason for their decision the prospect of a good, interesting job in their trained profession.

Polish citizens, according to the GDR consular official, first received information on the formalities and, if they were interested in resettlement, printed forms as well. These, as well as the informal written applications for the commencement of employment, will be accepted when completed and passed on for a decision. the polish authorities must also agree to allow their citizens to resettle.

Fuel Prices to Rise 12 Nov

LD1011104189 Warsaw PAP in English 0957 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 10—The crude oil products sole enterprise CPN has announced that the retail prices of engine fuels will go up as of November 12, 1989.

94-octane gasoline price jumps from 750 to 850 zloties, 86- octane gasoline from 700 to 800 zloties and diesel fuel from 550 to 650 zloties.

The price hike is connected with moves aimed to make the crude oil price realistic and to adjust the prices to the changing exchange rate of hard currencies.

OKP Denies TRYBUNA LUDU Report

LD0911232489 Warsaw PAP in English 2226 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 9—A proposal to set up an initiating group of the Polish politics movement has nothing in common with the activity of the Citizen's Parliamentary Caucus (OKP), the press office of the OKP said in a communique.

Thus, a statement made by the TRYBUNA LUDU PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] paper to the effect that the Citizens' Parliamentary Caucus founded a centrist-rightist party is completely untrue, the communique stated.

BCP Plenum, Mladenov's Election Noted

AU1011194289 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] According to BTA agency, the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] elected Petur Mladenov to the position of general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

The plenum granted Comrade Todor Zhivkov's request to be relieved of his positions as general secretary and member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and thanked him for his long and selfless service to the party and the people.

The BCP Central Committee plenum proposed that the National Assembly grant Comrade Todor Zhivkov's request to be relieved of his duties as chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Ceausescu Congratulates BCP's Mladenov

AU1111162889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1131 GMT 11 Nov 89

["Congratulatory Telegram"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/11/1989—RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu sent a telegram to Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], on his election to that office, whereby he congratulates him and conveys him the best wishes of success in the economic and social development of Bulgaria, in the building of the socialist society.

The telegram expresses satisfaction that the traditional ties of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the RCP and the BCP, between Romania and Bulgaria develop on multiple planes, for the benefit and in the interests of both peoples.

I am convinced that the relations between our parties and countries, based on full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, will further develop in the interests of the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, of the consolidation of the forces of socialism, of collaboration and peace in the Balkans, in Europe and the world over, the telegram shows.

Krenz, Stoph Express Thanks for Message

AU0911204489 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Nov 89 p 5

[Message of thanks from Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, and from Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu, for National Day greetings]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and to Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Dear Comrades: On behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the Council of Ministers, and the GDR people, we extend heartfelt thanks to you for the greetings and congratulations that you have conveyed to us on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

We firmly believe that the relations of friendship and cooperation in all areas between the SED and the RCP and between the GDR and the Socialist Republic of Romania will continue to develop and consolidate, on the basis of understandings reached at summit level, for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of socialism, peace, and international cooperation.

Please accept our best wishes for personal happiness and for new successes in building socialism.

Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and president of the GDR State Council

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers

Bucharest Committee Meets; Ceausescu Speaks

AU0911210489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 9 Nov 89

["Conference of Bucharest City Party Organization"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/11/1989—Thursday 9 November, Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, attended the conference of the Bucharest City Party Organization held in preparation of the Fourteenth Party Congress.

Taking their seats in the presidium beside Nicolae Ceausescu were workers, executives of economic and research units, men of science and letters, activists of the capital city's RCP organization.

Attending the proceedings beside the delegates to the conference were, as guests, members of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP and of the government, executives of ministries, of other central bodies, numerous working people of Bucharest enterprises and institutions.

The conference was opened by Barbu Petrescu, first secretary of the Bucharest City RCP Committee.

The delegates adopted the resolution of the conference of the Bucharest City Party Organization on Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election to the office of RCP general secretary.

In their addresses the speakers reiterated the full accord with the draft programme-directive and the theses for the Fourteenth Party Congress, programmatic documents which, through their targets, open new and luminous prospects to the development of Bucharest, of the entire country, as well as with Nicolae Ceausescu's exposition to the recent enlarged plenum of the CC of the RCP.

During the conference aspects were debated related to the activity and tasks of the party bodies and organizations for the economic and social development of the city, to the intensification of the organizational, political-ideological and cultural-educative work.

During the debates, the full adhesion of the Communists, of all the inhabitants of the capital city was expressed to the RCP and Romanian state foreign policy the promoter of which is the RCP general secretary and president of the Republic Nicolae Ceausescu.

The participants firmly backed the principled stand of the RCP and the Romanian state as presented in Nicolae Ceausescu's exposition at the recent enlarged plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP of firmly combating the theses of disideologization of international relations and giving up of class struggle theses that run counter to the entire evolution of mankind of rejecting the actions of the imperialist circles of denigrating and undermining socialism, of interference in domestic affairs, of destabilizing socialist countries.

After the debates, the participants approved the report and the activity of the city party committee since the previous election to the day, the report and activity of the city auditing commission.

The draft programme-directive regarding Romania's economic and social development over 1991-1995 and the guidelines until 2000-2010, as well as the theses for the Fourteenth RCP Congress were approved.

Also approved was the plan for the economic and social development of the city of Bucharest over 1991-1995.

Next, the RCP general secretary and president of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

The conference elected the Bucharest City RCP Committee and the auditing commission. Barbu Petrescu was elected first secretary of the Bucharest City RCP Committee.

The conference also appointed the delegates to the Fourteenth RCP congress and the candidates for the party's central bodies.

The resolution of the conference of the city party organization was adopted.

The conference set the mandate of the delegates of the Bucharest party organization to the Fourteenth Congress which includes the decision to back, alongside the entire party and people, Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election to the office of RCP general secretary, the adoption of the programmatic documents to be submitted for debate and approval to the great forum of the Romanian Communists.

Ceausescu Visits Bucharest Economic Units

AU0811202889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1912 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 8/11/1989—Wednesday, 8 November, the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary and president of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu met with workers and experts of large industrial enterprises and scientific research institutes of Bucharest to which he paid a working visit.

Held in anticipation of the Fourteenth Party Congress, the new meeting occasioned a survey of the results scored in fulfilling the plan for the ongoing year and the setting of the necessary measures to best attain the targets of this five-year interval and put conditions in place for the implementation of all the programmes for the country's multilateral development.

The visit included the "Electronica" enterprise of the large industrial district in the northern part of the capital city which comprises economic and research units specialized in new technologies, the "Grivita Rosie" chemical equipment manufacturing enterprise, the large garment and knitwear enterprise of Bucharest, the institutes of scientific research and technological engineering for metallurgy and machine building, the heavy equipment manufacturing enterprise and the "Republica" pipe making enterprise.

During the visit the RCP and Romanian state leader conducted a productive dialogue with workers, engineers and technicians, with decision makers on questions related to the concerns of the respective working collectivities to continuously improve the quality of products, renew and diversify them, modernize production and fabrication processes, on the measures taken to thoroughly prepare next year's production.

Special attention was also paid to questions concerning productivity growth, a higher competitiveness of products in the international market and the fulfillment of export contracts.

Through its results, the visit went down as an important moment in the activity of the respective industrial units and research institutes to raise economic efficiency onto a higher level in all areas to meet the exigencies of the country's current development stage.

Capitalist 'Anti-Communist' Actions Condemned

AU1111195489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1257 GMT 11 Nov 89

["Socialism the Path of the Peoples' Free, Independent Development—Excerpted Article in SCINTEIA of 11 November"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/11/1989—The peaceful coexistence of the two systems is a most complex question: the principles of peaceful coexistence do not affect but rather protect, guarantee the peoples' free option for different socioeconomic systems, for ways of life founded on different values. That is so because a number of fundamental values, vital for mankind's development, cannot be the object of negotiations. As Romanian party and state leader Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "Socialism, economic and social progress and the peoples' liberty and independence are not negotiable."

In the view of our party and its general secretary, the so-called "disideologization of relations between socialism and capitalism worldwide" is unacceptable. Because capitulation in the face of capitalism, renunciation of the class struggle for the elimination of exploitation and oppression, for the construction of a society of social equality and justice are unacceptable.

A growing ideological struggle is an objective demand at a time when capitalism takes action to promote a policy of exploitation and plunder of poor countries, of interference in their domestic affairs.

At the same time account should be taken of the change in the aggressive nature of capitalism which assumes new forms, new aspects in its attempt to destabilize the socialist countries.

In the wide-ranging revolutionary process of building the new system in certain socialist countries problems arose and mistakes were made. But they were not due to socialism, as Nicolae Ceausescu rightly stressed, they marked a departure from the principles of scientific socialism, from the laws of social development.

However, capitalist ideology took advantage of them and overstated both their scope and their consequences. Outmoded practices condemned by history have been taken over from the "cold war" arsenal. Peoples that are building socialism are defamed. Realities in socialist countries are distorted. Reactionary ideas and political-economic means are used in an effort to take countries that build the new social system off course.

The RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary has long called attention on the illusions that might show the wrong way to the future. He certainly referred to those people who as soon as a clearance was barely visible in the forest headed there without even thinking twice. Life has shown that, under economic and social pressure, as a result of some problems, certain socialist countries took the way to such "clearances" like the market economy or free competition, regulation through prices. But all these are solutions that capitalism used in conditions of exploitation, social injustice and inequity. The use them in socialist countries today is just to cherish the illusion of having found the way to future. [sentence as received] Because essentially they will inevitably lead backward. They will restore the capitalist relations of exploitation and humiliation. Only the principles of scientific socialism, of dialectical and historical materialism can show the way forward.

The successes of Romania, of other socialist countries, their future options have a strong influence on contemporary world developments. It is a fact that today, when socialism is more than just a theoretical doctrine, when it is a concrete sociopolitical system, millions of people keenly watch the performance of socialist countries in all fields. Economic and cultural progress, the broadening of democracy, the growing living standards, the widening framework for the assertion of personality are options and realities that arouse deep interest worldwide.

This is precisely the cause for the revival of reactionary political and ideological orientations in the capitalist society and for a growing vigorous anti-communist campaign.

Anti-communist propaganda is more active than ever and its reactionary character shows more and more. The new "ideological counteroffensives", the new anti-socialist campaigns are also aimed to make the evils of the old system less obvious, to disorient people in search of a really new way for society.

History has shown that the attempts made by imperialist reaction for tens of years to check or at least delay the development of socialist countries have ended in failure. Socialist countries hold an important place in today's world economic and political life. There is hardly an important problem in the world today that the socialist countries do not take an active part in its settlement or have their say in it. Life itself shows that socialism is the only alternative for mankind's free development. Alone the socialist system can give mankind a new historic perspective.

Further Commentary on GDR Border Opening, Wall

Foreign Secretariat Praises Opening

LD1111065189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0500 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, November 10 (TANJUG)—The decision by the Government of the German Democratic Republic to open the country's borders to its citizens travelling abroad is a step in a positive direction of lifting administrative barriers. We welcome it as a contribution to the efforts at creating an atmosphere of openness and trust in Europe—a statement by the Yugoslav Secretariat for Foreign Affairs on Friday [10 November] said.

Yugoslavia has always urged the free circulation of people and ideas in Europe and beyond. That is why we assess also the Berlin Government's decision as a step further in surmounting the restrictions and remnants of the cold war—the statement said.

Consequences of Berlin Wall End

AU1211202489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Branislav Canak commentary]

[Text] Even though the decision on opening up the border was undoubtedly made by the party leadership, it overshadowed the plenum itself and what was or was not adopted at it. It was simply as if one of the aims of lifting the border barriers was to cool down the unrealistic ambitious expectations of the public that the party meeting could offer a thorough turnaround overnight.

However, the sweet game of freedom to travel to the West will conclude [words indistinct] and the authorities will very quickly be faced with repeated, amended, more specific and more energetic political demands for changes. This is inevitable, and in fact began 1 month ago when, at the height of emigration to the other Germany, the slogans: We are not going anywhere. We are staying here. We want changes, appeared at demonstrations in Leipzig.

It was thereby clearly stated that the core of social consciousness in the GDR will not so easily (?swallow the bait) of the relatively easy resolution of existential questions through simply running away from reality, even though this would be a move into the [word indistinct] peace of a capitalist state of prosperity. Therefore, despite the spectacular scene of the unhindered and unpunished desecration of its magnificent wall, when [words indistinct] when another monument to outmoded ideology fell, the only thing left is to work.

If it was not done out of desperation, this step taken by the new party and state leader, Egon Krenz, represents an extraordinary tactical step which will undoubtedly create considerable room for maneuver and valuable time for a (?coup). We will soon see how this is used, but it is quite certain that—no matter how illogical this seems—Krenz and the Germany party will need considerably more courage and skill for these future actions than they needed for opening the border.

Even though the concrete has remained, the Berlin Wall ceased to exist in practical terms on the night between Thursday and Friday. What happened was something that not even the most (?frequent) East German dreamers of democracy dared think about yesterday, nor even the most died-in-the-wool conservatives of the other Germany, dreaming about base imperialistic conspiracies against the Eastern people.

In this respect, we get to a quite new dimension of the significance of the opening up of the East German border, a dimension which will live and develop independently of the further course [word indistinct] of political events in the GDR. This involves the whole scope of the international consequences of the destruction of the barricade between the two Germanies.

First of all, nothing will be able to stay the same in their mutual relations, since the rigidity of the border regime was one of the main characteristics of the development of inter-German relations in the last 4 decades.

The ideologies of mutual relations have been built with implicit deep divisions—even before these divisions were embodied by the wall 28 years ago—only for all the political explanations for the justification and lack of justification for the existence of two Germanies to come to nothing.

It will be difficult, for example, for even a compromise formula over social democratic East-politics concerning one people and two states to survive, let alone radical calls for an assault on the wall and the liberation of brothers.

The open borders will initiate political, financial, economic, cultural activities which could very easily involve the FRG to such an extent that this could even have an influence on the dynamics of concluding the preparations for a unified Europe in 1992.

Furthermore, close cooperation between the two Germanies would again raise the question of their unification, which as an idea in itself has already caused much abhorrence and doubt. No one has any interest in there again being a state in the heart of Europe which will be difficult to control. This was at one time stated by Erich Honecker, as a slightly strange argument for the GDR remaining [words indistinct] of real socialism, although this same sentence could—although in a whisper—have been said to us today by any European politician.

Is it, therefore, now worth considering a possible new Helsinki, as an essential regulator of inter-German and other relations because relations between the super powers—although they have facilitated this the most—could acquire new elements in the warming up process on the border of the two Germanies? Particularly since it should be stressed that the latest step by Berlin has put the ball into the court of the Western block which will now unexpectedly have to prove the seriousness of its stand about a better and more humane common life that was expressed at a time when it could have been expected with quite a lot of certainly that the other side would as always say, no [preceeding word in Russian], to all this.

Bulgarian Leader Zhivkov Resigns After 35 Years

Radio Announces Resignation

AU1011194089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] A piece of news which attracted much attention is the information that Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, has tendered his resignation. At its session today, the Central Committee appointed Petur Mladenov, up to now minister of foreign affairs, as new secretary general.

Zhivkov had been at the head of the Bulgarian Party and state for 35 years.

'Further Changes To Be Expected'

AU1111175889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Special TANJUG correspondent Pero Rakocevic report from Sofia]

[Text] Yesterday's change in the top political leadership in Bulgaria is undoubtedly a herald of radical changes that may occur here. This is indicated not only by the words of the newly elected general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], Petur Mladenov, on the need of transforming Bulgaria into a modern democratic and law-governed state, but also by the message by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, published on the front page of RABOTNICHESKO DELO along with the resolution on the change in the BCP. The message says that the USSR is convinced that the BCP and all the workers will rise to the occasion required by the radical and consistent renewal of society in the spirit of the socialist choice.

The content of the message unequivocally shows how much the USSR was dissatisfied with the course and the content of restructuring in Bulgaria. Obviously Bulgaria needed comprehensive changes, and as Mladenov said, new men for a new policy. This indicates that further changes in the Party Politburo are to be expected.

It is significant that the press today did not carry Todor Zhivkov's opening speech at the plenum, and the resolution on the election of Mladenov attributes to the new general secretary all the qualities that Zhivkov lacked: high education, readiness to listen to different opinions, and a nonauthoritative manner of leadership.

It is quiet in Sofia streets today, as if nothing happened in the top political leadership. However, the removal of Todor Zhivkov's pictures began in some public places even last night.

Changes 'Precipitate,' 'Unexpected'

AU1111213689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Special TANJUG correspondent Pero Rakocevic report from Sofia]

[Excerpts] The definitive departure of Todor Zhivkov from the political scene is a very important, but to some extent late, step. These are the first assessments of the observers in Sofia. What was done at this time was obviously what was possible to do considering the relationship of forces in the top leadership of the country. However, the replacement made is undoubtedly only a herald of further radical changes which are to happen here soon.

This is indicated by many circumstances, and especially by Mladenov's words that new policy needs new people. [passage omitted]

Mladenov's closing speech at the plenum, which was noticeably short, is interpreted by observers to show that the changes in the party leadership were precipitate and unexpected to a great majority of people. [passage omitted]

Causes, Consequences Viewed

AU1211205689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 12 Nov 89

[Dragan Petrovic commentary]

[Text] The resignation by Todor Zhivkov, one of the political veterans of Eastern Europe, is undoubtedly a reflection of the deep political changes that have encompassed this part of the world. The first question that arises after the replacement in Bulgaria is: What are the deeper reasons for Todor Zhivkov's withdrawal from political life?

Some analysts, in a slightly stereotypical way and without entering more deeply into the particularities of individual East European countries, put forward the idea that the recent manifestations by eco-dissidents shook the position of the Bulgarian leadership. It seems to them that several opposition groups openly came onto the public stage under the umbrella of the international ecology meeting which ended in Sofia on 3 November after 2 weeks work. They used the presence of foreign journalists to reveal their aims that were not just ecological. Their action only confirmed that under the apparent peace in Bulgaria there are attempts at and demands for quicker and more thorough social changes.

However, it would be too simple to interprete the changes at the head of the party and state with the appearance of eco-dissidents and [word indistinct].

Rather, in the course of all the changes in Eastern Europe, a preventative step has been taken because it is one thing for party leaders in relatively peaceful conditions to control the march of reform through (?gradual concessions) and something quite different for the people to go out onto the streets demanding the same or much more.

The Bulgarians seem to have quickly learned the lessons of the dramatic events in East Germany. Todor Zhivkov formally supported reforms but did very little specifically. Several inroads were made into the economic system: A law was passed at the beginning of the year for encouraging foreign investment and economic initiatives were adopted. Enterprises have been allowed relatively greater independence in order to stimulate interest in [words indistinct]. The worst results have been achieved in social reform.

Some deeper moves will certainly be made in future in relation to what Zhivkov did in the last few years. The new party chief, Petur Mladenov, stressed when he took office that Bulgaria must be a modern, democratic, and law-governed state and that there is no alternative to reforms, but it will be in the framework of socialism. He also spoke about the new style of leadership and the appointment of cadres. The conclusion can be drawn from this that there will first of all be even more cadre changes in the party's Central Committee and the Politburo.

Regarding other acts, it is difficult to expect deeper inroads [words indistinct]. It is more probable that Bulgaria will follow what is happening in the Soviet Union but far more consistently and with less hesitation. [Words indistinct] more consistent perestroystvo, as perestroyka is called in Bulgaria.

All the events in Eastern Europe impose one more comparison and question: Are the East German leader, Egon Krenz, and the newly elected head of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Petur Mladenov, real reformists or transitional personalities and where are their different similarities?

There are similarities: Both have been deeply involved in previous policies and are now attempting or will attempt something else, which does not have to mean and probably does not mean that the results will be the same or similar because they are operating under different circumstances but it should also be borne in mind [words indistinct] of East European countries, changes will arise in a particular way.

Whatever happens, the fact is that after the withdrawal of Todor Zhivkov, only Nicolae Ceasescu, head of the Romanian state and party, now remains in a position of leadership out of the old guard of party leaders who generally came to power in the past-Stalinist era.

Albanian Refugees Ask for Asylum in Greece

AU0911122089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 9 Nov 89

[Text] Two Albanian citizens have crossed the Albanian-Greek border on foot and asked for asylum in Greece. Quoting a Ianina police statement, AFP reports that one was an ethnic Greek and the other Albanian. They both lived in Tirana.

The four Greeks from Albania who crossed the border in the night between Sunday and Monday have been granted asylum in Greece, the press agency reports.

New EC Envoy Received by Commission President

LD0811063789 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2235 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Brussels, Nov 7 (TANJUG)—President of the Commission of the European Communities Jacques Delors has expressed the regional organization's readiness to give economic support to reforms in Yugoslavia.

Receiving the credentials of new Yugoslav ambassador to the E.C. Dr Mihajlo Crnobrnja this evening, Delors said that reforms were of profound importance for Yugoslavia's economic stability.

The president of the European Commission emphasized the interest of this regional organization and its individual members in frequent consultations and intensified contacts with Belgrade, particularly in the context of preparations for the next session of the E.C.- Yugoslavia Cooperation Council.

Last night, the foreign ministers of the twelve began closed-door consultations to formulate a commomn stand for the session of the council in Brussels later this month. The Yugoslav delegation to the session will be headed by Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar.

As subsequently unofficially confirmed at E.C. Headquarters, the European Commission and its Ministerial Council have very favourably received the Yugoslav Government's memorandum on measures for a reform of the country's economic system.

60 Stari Trg Miners Suspended Because of Strikes

AU1011172389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Early this morning in the Trepca Stari Trg mine, miners resumed production after a standstill of almost 2 weeks. About 200 workers of the first shift went down into the pit early this morning. Becir Mehmeti, director of the mine, said that a thorough selection of miners had been carried out in the mine and that 60 miners who had been on strike at the end of October were given written suspension notifications. The procedure of suspending 40 more workers of the collective is under way.

According to the latest assessments, during these work stoppages in the Stari Trg mine, about 200 miners' shifts did not work and 26,000 tonnes of ore, that is, 1,200 tonnes of metal have not been extracted because of the latest strike alone.

Further Reportage on Controversial Vlasi Trial

Change of Venue Rejected

LD1011120989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Titova Mitrovica, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—The federal public prosecutor rejected as unfounded the request of the accused Azem Vlasi and 18 defendents that the case be transferred to a competent court in the territory of another republic. [passage omitted]

According to law, only the federal public prosecutor can forward such a request to the Federal Court.

In connection with this, the district public prosecutor's office in Titova Mitrovica today issued the following statement: "The federal public prosecutor informed in writing the district public prosecutor's office in Titova Mitrovica that, having considered the reasons presented in the request by the accused Azem Vlasi and 18 defendants to transfer to a competent court the case, registration number 84/89, in the Titova Mitrovica District Court in criminal proceedings against Azem Vlasi and the others, on the basis of the indictment, registration number 22/89, dated 25 August 1989, of the district public prosecutor's office in Titova Mitrovica, concluded that there are no grounds under Article 35, Paragraph 3 of the law on criminal proceedings, for the reasons cited in Article 35, Paragraph 3 of the same law, to propose to the Federal Court the designation of another competent court on the territory of another republic for the case."

Judge Replacement Rejected

LD1111031289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0130 GMT 10 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, November 10 (TANJUG)—The Supreme Court of Kosovo has rejected as unfounded all requests by former Kosovo party leader Azem Vllasi for the replacement of judges at his trial, it was stated this evening in Pristina, capital of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province.

Vlasi and 14 other defendants, all ethnic Albanians and mostly executives of the Trepca lead and zinc mine, are on trial for "counter-revolutionary endangering Yugoslavia's social order."

They are charged with inspiring and organizing separatist demonstrations by Ethnic Albanians in November 1988 and a strike of Trepca miners in February this year. This was followed by an armed rebellion of Kosovo separatists in March this year when 25 people were killed.

The trial, which opened in the district court of Titova Mitrovica on October 30, was adjourned after four hours when the defence challenged the credentials of the chief judge and the public prosecutor, as well as those of the chief judge and all members of the Kosovo Supreme Court.

Vlasi's plea for the trial to be moved from Kosovo and the republic of Serbia, whose part it is, was also rejected by the federal public prosecutor earlier today.

Anti-Vlasi Trial Petition

AU1011193889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Signatures Against the Trial"]

[Text] Zagreb, 6 Nov—What has been announced for days came true today: The signing of the petition against the trial of Vlasi and his companions organized by the Zagreb City Conference of the Socialist Youth Organization of Croatia has started.

The authorities have granted the Zagreb youth organization leadership the permit to carry out this action of "help" in solving the situation in Kosovo.

Urosevac Serbs Patrol Streets, Protect Homes

AU1011215689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Nov 89 p 3

[S. Lekic report: "'Civilian Vigilantes' Guarding Their Homes"]

[Excerpt] Urosevac, 6 Nov—Although an apparent peace reigns in Urosevac streets for the second day already, apart from militia patrols, armed "civilian vigilantes" walk some of the streets leading to the center of the town in which mostly Serbs and Montenegrins live. They have done this since last night.

After a group of 50 demonstrators attacked Vlada Milovanovic who tried to protect his son and after the stoning of Serbian and Montenegrin houses during demonstrations the day before yesterday, indignant citizens, discontented with the work of the militsa, decided to protect their homes by turns. Since last night, four-men armed groups patrol in 3-hour shifts almost all streets, particularly those between Sumadijska and Crnogorska streets and "stop work" only when day breaks. [passage omitted]

Presidency Statement on Security Service Report

AU1211155589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Oct 89 p 12

[TANJUG report: "Usual Procedure"]

[Text] On the occasion of a report issued by the State Security Service of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, dated 24 August 1989 and entitled "On the Phenomenon of Ethnic Serbs Emigrating From the Socialist Republic of

Bosnia-Hercegovina," and the speculations in some media concerning the role that Dr Borisav Jovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, and Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency, played in all of this and their activities concerning the issue, the Press and Information Bureau of the SFRY Presidency has been authorized to issue the following statement:

The above-mentioned report was sent to the leading officials of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and to Dr Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency from that republic, who is also president of the Federal Social Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order, which deals with a sphere to which the problems mentioned in the said report belong.

Dr Borisav Jovic has informed Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency from the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina who is also a member of the Federal Social Council for the Protection of Constitutional Order, about this report so that he can use it in regular activities during his contacts with the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. After all, this is a normal and usual practice in mutual relations between members of the SFRY Presidency.

Bearing in mind the character and contents of the report and the meaning of the assertions it contained, SFRY Presidency member Bogic Bogicevic acquainted the most responsible leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina with the contents of the report.

Therefore, what was involved was a regular procedure in the work among members of the highest state leadership of the country and their communications with the socialist republics and provinces from which they have come.

Federal Assembly Group Ends Visit to Kosovo

AU0811180289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Nov 89

[Text] The members of the Working Group of the SFRY Assembly Internal Policy Committee have concluded their visit to Kosovo. They have had talks in Pristina, Podujevo, Titova Mitrovica, Urosevac, and Gnjilane about the situation in the province and the implementation of special measures of the SFRY Presidency. Here is a report by Milivoje Mihajlovic:

The special measures of the SFRY Presidency with the aim of stabilizing the Kosovo situation were (?necessary) and justified. They have rendered positive results in curbing attacks organized on a mass scale against the constitutional order, the freedom and security of citizens, and the integrity of Yugoslavia. This was the unanimous conclusion of the members of the delegation of the SFRY Assembly Internal Policy Committee which spent a few days in Kosovo. Special measures, it was said during the final talks held at the Kosovo Assembly building today, have made it possible for the institutions of the system and the economic organizations to function normally. It was also assessed that the temporary measures should remain in force and that their abolition will depend on the further stabilization of the Kosovo situation.

During the talks with communal leaderships and a number of citizens of all nationalities, the members of the Internal Policy Committee have concluded that there is a firm orientation in Kosovo toward carrying out a unified policy over the entire territory of Serbia, and that this is the only way to crush counterrevolution in the province. It was stressed that there are links between Great Albanian separatists and extremist emigres abroad and the Albanian Intelligence Service, Sigurimi.

Kosovo people are particularly annoyed by the support provided to Albanian separatists from Slovenia and Croatia. The gatherings of Albanians in these two republics are identical to the demonstrations by extreme emigres in Vienna, Zurich, Brussels, and New York. It was said that separatists in Kosovo are encouraged by the support some politicians from Slovenia and Croatia extend to former officials, particularly to Azem Vlasi and his group of conspirators from Stari Trg. It was assessed that a favorable climate for solving the problems of Kosovo is gradually being created, but it was also said that economic results are extremely bad, which is particularly the result of the silent boycott of work.

One more piece of news from Kosovo: The Pristina Communal Magistrate's Court has sentenced 50 participants in Albanian separatist demonstrations held in Pristina last week to 60 days in prison each. One person has been sentenced to 30 days in prison, and in 45 cases, offense proceedings have been suspended for lack of evidence. The majority of the demonstrators punished are young people.

14th Party Congress Deemed 'Last Chance'

AU0711213889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 89 p 7

[Kemal Kurspahic commentary reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE: "A Party at the 'Last Chance'"—date not given]

[Text] The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has cleared up at least one dilemma: the next congress that has compromisingly been called both the 14th and extraordinary, will be held in the capital city from 20 to 22 January. Some concerned voices which say it would be better for the matter to be postponed in order to achieve some kind of unity on the direction and character of the social changes in the country and the party's role in them and which have even gone as far as warning that the gradually speeded-up congress could mean suicide for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, remained in the minority. Thus, there now remains 3 months for all the preparations and this in a quite shaky political climate strongly charged with mistrust and open public confrontations on practically all the main subjects of the reforms of the economy, the party, and society. The depth of these "differences in opinion" have best been portrayed by this still unfinished session of the party leadership: The economic reform and the tasks of the Communists in it were discussed on the basis of an "author-attributed introductory speech"—which in translation means that more important consensus was not even reached on the main subjects—and the members of the Central Committee assessed it as they liked, as "quite acceptable" and "the most vehement anti-reform blow so far." So let the party membership "from the Vardar to Triglav" now unite around the reform aims and in only 3 months! Perhaps, then, it would be wise for the Sava congress center in Belgrade to borrow the name of the "Last Chance" cafe for the 3 January days of the extraordinary 14th congress in order to remind the delegates that in the next 3 months—and in those 3 days—the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is perhaps having a final test to see whether it can cope with the times. This is because they have continued to get bound up and exhausted—as in a large part of the present public debate—in the closed circle of ideo- dogmatic dilemmas of self-management or management; of socialism or re-establishment of capitalism; of social ownership or nothing.... The party is at risk of becoming or remaining a debating club of use to no one. This will leave the workers who are fed up with socialism without anything and with self-management without influence over anything, to seek the strength of the urgent changes in more productive ideas.

Vojvodina Executive Council President Resigns

AU0811112289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Oct 89 p 8

[TANJUG report: "Jon Srbovan Relieved of Duties as President of the Vojvodina Executive Council"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 24 Oct—The resignation of Jon Srbovan was adopted at today's joint session of all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly and he was relieved of his duties as president of the Executive Council of the Vojvodina Assembly.

Srbovan submitted his resignation after the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of the Old Town in Novi Sad handed down the punishment of expulsion from the party for his participation in the condemned events of 9 June last year during the gathering in Novi Sad of disenfranchised Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The Vojvodina Assembly decided that the tasks and duties of the Executive Council president would be carried out in the future by Sredoje Erdeljan, a member of this organ.

The delegates of all three chambers also accepted the resignations of two members of the Vojvodina Presidency, Dr Tihomir Suvakov and Dr Jan Marko who were also punished with the ideopolitical measure of expulsion from the League of Communists for participating in and implementing the erroneous autonomist-bureaucratic policy in the province.

Greens Protest Near Slovene LC Building

LD0711183189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Nov (TANJUG)—Only a dozen members of the Green Party of Slovenia gathered in front of the Slovene Central Committee League of Communists [LC] building today to draw attention to discrimination in the forthcoming elections through their "demonstrations."

We were first to penetrate the cordon and demonstrate in front of the Central Committee because we do not agree with their policies, said Dr Marek Lenardic, chairman of the Green Party of Slovenia at today's "demonstration." The "Greens" are warning that with a single program, Slovenia would be neo-Stalinist and are fighting against "corruption in journalism and separatism."

In the talks which Lenardic had with Tina Tomlje, member of the Slovene Presidency, after the "demonstration," it was concluded that in the area of ecology, this party is able to cooperate with the LC.